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Panel Says Soviet Violated Arms Pact

Conservative U.S. Senators Press Administration to Reveal Findings

By Hedrick Smith
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — An interagency committee has reported to President Ronald Reagan that it believes the Soviet Union has violated terms of the 1979 strategic arms accord, and the administration is under pressure from conservative senators to make that finding public, officials have disclosed.

Officials said Wednesday that the president, prompted by the report, had appointed a new panel headed by William P. Clark, his national security adviser, to begin next week to check "all aspects of compliance" with nuclear arms treaties to see whether there was a pattern of Soviet violations and to consider what actions Washington should take.

Officials said the new task force was examining "a fairly long list" of potential violations of the 1979 strategic arms agreement, the 1974 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, the 1974 Threshold Test Ban Treaty and the 1976 Treaty on Peaceful Nuclear Exchange. They said it could take a month to complete its work.

A political struggle is already developing in Congress over how the United States should deal with possible violations of the second strategic arms limitation agreement.

Some conservative senators want to publicize possible Soviet violations to throw Moscow on the defensive in arms talks and as a deliberate counterweight to liberal pressures for a nuclear freeze.

Others are urging caution for fear of killing the second arms limitation agreement, disrupting the entire process of arms negotiations, and even raising new tensions with allies in Western Europe.

On Monday, two conservative Republican senators, Orrin G. Hatch of Utah and Steve Symms of Idaho, reportedly pressed Defense Secretary Casper W. Weinberger to

have the administration go public with charges of Soviet violations.

The senators contended this would strengthen the administration's case for the MX missile and spur a public campaign to increase the defense budget.

Senator James A. McClure, another Republican from Idaho, said a conservative faction in the Senate was also considering a resolution calling for an end to U.S. compliance with the SALT-2 treaty if conservatives were not eventually satisfied by administration action on what they believe is a pattern of Soviet violations.

But last Thursday, the leaders of the Senate Intelligence Committee, Barry M. Goldwater of Arizona, its chairman, and Daniel P. Moynihan of New York, its ranking Democrat, sought to caution the administration against rushing into public charges because of the broad ramifications of accusing Moscow of treaty violations.

Congressional sources said their intent was to persuade the administration to consult with Congress before making charges that might disrupt current arms talks and U.S.-Soviet relations and also affect relations with Western Europe, where new arguments about Soviet behavior could sharpen tensions within the Atlantic alliance.

On March 31, Mr. Reagan said there were "increasingly serious grounds for questioning" Soviet compliance with arms treaties, but refrained from charging any right violation. On April 6, Mr. Weinberger went a bit further, asserting, "There may be violations, indeed, and this would not be the first time."

High officials said the administration, moving cautiously because of the seriousness of the issue, would almost certainly question Moscow more closely before making public charges of a treaty violation. In response to preliminary inquiries, officials said, the Soviet Union has insisted it is complying with all treaties.

The initial interagency assessment dealt solely with Soviet missile tests last fall and was Feb. 5.

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U.S. marines watched Thursday as workers used a backhoe to dig through wreckage at the American Embassy in Beirut.

Israeli Forces Reportedly Put on Alert

Syrian Buildup In Lebanon Cited

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

JERUSALEM — Israeli forces have been put on alert in response to stepped-up Syrian military activity in Lebanon that could signal preparations for another war, according to Israeli news reports Thursday.

"Israel is increasingly perturbed," the Jerusalem Post reported, "by the signs of military activity in Syria, including troop exercises."

The newspaper Ma'ariv added that "vigilance has been increased" in the Israeli forces because of Syrian troop activity in the eastern Bekaa Valley, where the bulk of the 40,000 Syrian troops in Lebanon are deployed.

Ma'ariv said Israeli observers in the Chuf Mountains east of Beirut had reported the Syrians were fortifying their well-entrenched positions.

Israeli military sources said the Syrians were returning to positions abandoned with the onset of winter snows, but were not reinforcing beyond their strength of last autumn. The Syrians now have more than two divisions in Lebanon or near the border.

The sources said the Syrians could switch from a defensive to an offensive deployment within a few hours.

Carried by most major newspapers and radio networks, the reports originated from a Wednesday briefing for Israeli reporters by Defense Minister Moshe Arens.

The reports said it was not clear whether the Syrians were preparing a spring campaign or were adopting a defensive posture for fear of an Israeli attack.

But in a clear signal to Damascus, the reports stressed that Israel had no intention of launching an attack and was deliberately avoiding measures that could be read by Syria as a provocation.

"We do not want to have any conflict with the Syrians," said a Foreign Ministry spokesman.

In Damascus, the state-run radio accused Israel on Thursday of staging provocative military exercises.

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Italian soldiers placed sandbags around the Italian Embassy on Thursday as several diplomatic missions in Lebanon increased security amid fears of further terrorist attacks.

Artists' Union Is Suspended by Polish Regime

By John Kifner
New York Times Service

WARSAW — The authorities suspended the Polish artists' union Thursday for refusing to recant its support of Solidarity.

The move reflects the frustration the regime of General Wojciech Jaruzelski has met in its dealing with intellectuals, artists, writers, actors and others who have, by and large, shunned the government, turning to what is known as the "internal emigration," a kind of dropping-out.

The unions of journalists, actors, writers, filmmakers and students — all of which had been hotbeds of Solidarity supporters — were suspended under martial law. The artists' union was restored last April and was to have its annual congress Friday.

The artists' union was ordered by the mayor of Warsaw last month to withdraw eight resolutions it had approved, including ones supporting Solidarity, criticizing government actions against other cultural bodies and demanding an amnesty for all political prisoners.

The resolution declaring, "We support the Solidarity union and pledge to cooperate with it," was issued in September, a month before Solidarity was outlawed.

In a letter to the Interior Ministry, the leaders of the 12,000-member artists' union said the Polish constitution guaranteed the right to express opinions on social and political matters.

A government official has taken over the union's offices.

The nation's writers are also under pressure from the authorities to toe the line, with the authorities demanding a pledge of loyalty to the Communist system and a leadership purge before their union can be restored.

Negotiations between the government and the union chairman, Jan Jozef Szczepanski, have begun, but they have been complicated by an inflammatory letter carrying Mr. Szczepanski's name. Both sides now say the letter was forged.

The demand for a pledge of loyalty to Communism surfaced at a February meeting of writers who are party members. About 270 of the 1,300 union members belong to the Communist Party, one of the

smallest percentages in the Eastern bloc.

A report by the Communist Party's Cultural Department, read and endorsed at the meeting, said that "the influence the opponents of socialism still have on the authorities of the Polish writers' union does not make it possible yet to revive this union."

Thursday's issue of the Communist Party newspaper, Tybuna Ludu, attacked whom it called the "blindly obsessed" leaders of the artists' union, who it said had "smeared the organization toward increasingly distinct political opposition."

Saying that the union had been suspended only after warnings were given, the newspaper added, "The question is: Will the union activists draw the proper conclusions from the situation?"

■ Jewish Congress Withdraws

Members of the World Jewish Congress angrily withdrew Thursday from official ceremonies marking the 40th anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising. The Associated Press reported from Warsaw.

The 12 congress delegates, representing Jews in 67 countries, were protesting a Polish television program aired Wednesday night comparing the slaughter of Jews by the Nazis to last summer's massacre of Palestinians in Beirut during Israeli occupation.

Mark Friedman of New York, program director of the World Jewish Congress, said the decision followed a "series of provocations," including participation of a Palestine Liberation Organization representative in wreath-laying ceremonies at a monument to ghetto martyrs "and a Polish television program comparing Auschwitz with Sabra and Chatila."

More than three million Polish Jews were killed by Nazi occupation forces during World War II at Auschwitz, 150 miles (240 kilometers) south of Warsaw, and other death camps. Hundreds of Palestinian Arabs were killed by Lebanese Christians in the Sabra and Chatila refugee camps near Beirut.

An inquiry found that Israeli occupation forces had taken inadequate steps to prevent the deaths of the Palestinians.

Chinese Report Killing 16 Vietnamese Troops

By Christopher S. Wren
New York Times Service

BEIJING — China announced Thursday that its frontier guards had killed 16 Vietnamese soldiers in clashes Wednesday along the border of Yunnan province.

According to the Chinese news agency, five Vietnamese soldiers were killed and one was wounded when they took advantage of a rainy mist to cross the frontier late Wednesday afternoon into Jinping county and ran into patrolling frontier guards outside a local village.

That evening, other Vietnamese soldiers tried to rush the company guard post, but they withdrew after the Chinese opened fire with machine guns and rifles, leaving 11 Vietnamese dead, the news agency reported.

It was the first substantial ground skirmish reported from the tense border, where Chinese frontier guards began shelling Vietnamese positions last Saturday and Sunday, ostensibly in reprisal for "armed provocations" by the Vietnamese.

There was no further word Thursday about the exchange of artillery fire, suggesting that it may have halted after shelling from both sides on Monday. But the People's Daily featured on its front page pictures of helmeted Chinese artillerymen preparing to fire on Vietnamese targets and of a school allegedly damaged by Vietnamese shelling on Monday.

Meanwhile, a senior Chinese official Thursday hinted that Beijing would continue to retaliate if Hanoi pressed its recent offensive against the insurgents in Cambodia. Western diplomats in Cambodia have been emphasizing that the fighting this time has been done by frontier guards and local militia rather than regular army units.

But China has left its options open by asserting that it is up to Vietnam to wind down the hostilities, which Mr. Li, the Politburo member, implied Thursday included those in Cambodia as well as on the Chinese-Vietnamese border.

In his published remarks to Prince Sihanouk, Mr. Li reiterated the Chinese position that "the Vietnamese authorities must immediately and unconditionally withdraw all their aggressor troops from Kampuchea [Cambodia] and immediately stop all sorts of provocations against their neighboring countries."

swallow even more bitter fruit," Mr. Li was quoted by the news agency as saying.

China has been providing weapons and ammunition to the Khmer Rouge guerrillas and, to a lesser extent, the two other insurgent forces in the coalition. Mr. Li assured Prince Sihanouk that "we will never stop our support so long as Vietnam does not stop such aggression."

Details of earlier border skirmishing were reported Thursday when the Chinese news agency reported that two brothers belonging to the Miao ethnic minority in southern Yunnan were decorated for killing a Vietnamese soldier and wounding a second on April 9, a week before the Chinese started shelling across the border.

The agency said the two brothers, Wang Linhua and Wang Linhe, were militia on reserve duty in the Wenhsan autonomous prefecture when they spotted a patrol of four Vietnamese soldiers who had crossed the border in the fog for reconnaissance and planting mines, the news agency said. They opened fire, and two of the Vietnamese soldiers dragged their wounded comrade back across the border, leaving the dead infiltrator and a submachine gun behind, the agency said.

The reports on both fighting and casualties have been skimpy, with the Chinese releasing only selected details to bolster their claim that they are acting in self-defense.

Western diplomats in Beijing doubt that China will mount a new ground invasion of Vietnam as it did in early 1979, when the two former allies fought a far bloodier border war. The Chinese press has emphasized that the fighting this time has been done by frontier guards and local militia rather than regular army units.

Living Language: Amo, Amas, Amat — Zap!

Italian Priest's Comics Rescue Latin From Purgatorium Capsa

By Henry Kamm
New York Times Service

ROME — The balloons are familiar, as are the comic-book faces on which they issue. But the words inside the balloons are startlingly different.

Aspirin, uranium atomium, "supers and" one says. Another "chairs," "tus emm," "levissimum instrumentum in."

In the English version these balloons say, "Look! I've bought a conchard time machine, and 'No! There was only this old television set which is still here."

The ones that say "Crack!" "Hud!" or "Bong!" are identical — the English and Latin versions cause they are believed to be mutually understood as intercomprehension expressions.

The man who invented comic strips in Latin last year and now is about 200,000 subscribers in his countries is a small and young priest whose Latin, he says, has improved of late. Still, he said in Italian, "I am not an expert on Latin — I am a lover of Latin."

When Father Pigni drives his car, which he often does between his home in Rocanati, 135 miles northeast (217 kilometers) of Rome, and his office here at the European Language Institute at Viale Parioli No. 101, he puts recordings of Gregorian chants on his tape deck. "It gives me such serenity — it is like prayer," he said.

The 38-year-old priest has no church job and wears conservative suits without a clerical collar, but he has his bishop's approval for his work at the language institute. He said he came to comic books in Latin by popular demand. It was expressed, he recalled, by West German teachers and students at the Frankfurt Book Fair two years ago.

At the stand of the institute, a commercial corporation of which Father Pigni is president, educational comic books in English, French, German and Italian were on display. The institute has been producing them as teaching tools for 10 years. "Our stand was taken by assault by thousands of teachers," said the priest, who does not shun hyperbole. "And they kept asking, 'Why not in Latin?'"

Encouraged by the Rev. Carlo Egger, a Vatican Latinist who is responsible for the Latin in papal pronouncements and bulls, Father Pigni decided to try. With Father Egger's help he obtained the aid of Professor Amedeo Pacini, a spe-

cialist in devising Latin words for things that did not exist when Latin was spoken.

Professor Pacini is no doubt responsible for such neologisms as "purgatorium capsula" for garbage can, "paulini substrata" for roller skates, "exactionis area" for cash register and "calcei tennidolendendi" for soccer boots.

The comic books' contents vary from boys' adventures to Latin classics and include puzzles and other games designed to teach while they amuse. They have no religious content.

They have caught on best in Britain, the priest said, where Latin remains a required subject in most private schools. Germany and France are next in subscriptions and Italy last. Father Pigni described the present state of Latin in the country where it was born and

whose language is Latin's child as "humiliating."

Teaching of Latin has been dropped in most Italian schools because, according to Father Pigni, politicians yielded to the pressure of populist politics and declared the study of Latin elitist. The priest is proud that publicity given to his comics has revived discussion in the press about the reintroduction of Latin to the curriculum and has gained the backing of Communist members of Parliament.

But Father Pigni is proudest of the stacks of mail in Latin he receives daily congratulating him on his venture and the many inquiries he receives from publishers in other countries. He is confident that by the end of this year his comic book, Iuvencus Commentarius, or Youth Magazine, will have 400,000 subscribers.

They will not include Sister Maria Assunta, a cloistered nun living in silent contemplation near Munich. She writes often and enthusiastically to ask for a leftover copy, since her vows deprive her of any spending money. Once, she wrote, she read the comics with such joy that she did not even hear the lights-out bell.

Father Pigni's sense of success will be complete next month with the arrival of a secretary he has just engaged. Her job will be to answer all correspondence. In Latin, of course, which she has been teaching in England.

U.S. Reportedly Set To Expel a Russian

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — A Soviet defense attaché has been picked up by the FBI for alleged espionage and will be expelled from the United States, administration sources said Thursday.

The sources, who declined to permit use of their names, said a U.S. citizen cooperated with the FBI in detaining the attaché.

INSIDE

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■ UNESCO is a place where the United States is faring badly and where the Soviet Union plays the game far better, according to a U.S. member of a special delegation at the Paris body. Page 5.

■ Chrysler reported its highest quarterly profit ever. Page 11.

■ A rosy forecast by ICI, the British chemical group, cheered London trading. Page 11.

■ Japan turned aside suggestions at a Group of 30 meeting that it adopt a more expansionist economic policy. Page 13.

WEEKEND

■ Helene Hauff, one of the few Americans to be the subject of a plaque in London, talks to Mary Blume. Page 7W.

TOMORROW

■ Communist William Pfaff looks at current explanations for the French Socialist's difficulties, and proposes an explanation of his own.

Nicaragua Says Rebel Killed Self

By Christopher Dickey
Washington Post Service

SAN SALVADOR — Salvador Cayetano Carpio, considered the most influential leader of El Salvador's leftist guerrillas, committed suicide last week after learning that his second-in-command was murdered by one of his closest associates, the Nicaraguan Interior Ministry has announced.

The death of Mr. Carpio, 63, on April 12 was confirmed Wednesday by a spokesman for the Salvadoran guerrillas' political front. No details were given on the place or the exact circumstances.

Mr. Carpio headed the Popular Forces of Liberation, the oldest and in many ways the most radical and intransigent of the five allied guerrilla factions fighting to overthrow the U.S.-backed government of El Salvador.

His death and that of his second-in-command, Melida Anaya Montes, 55, on April 6, deprives his group of its founder and key leadership as the rebels are seeking to unify the command structure of their overall organization.

Salvadoran leftists and the Nicaraguans had blamed the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency for the murder of Miss Montes, who was known as Commander Ana Maria, near Managua. But Nicaraguans (Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

Major Drive Reported On Afghan Guerrillas By Soviet-Led Forces

New York Times Service
NEW DELHI — A Western diplomat said Tuesday that a major Soviet-led offensive was reportedly under way against rebel positions in northwest Afghanistan. Heavy casualties were reported in the fighting, which was said to be continuing on the outskirts of Herat, near the Iranian border. The informant quoted a diplomatic report from Kabul, the Afghan capital, as saying Soviet and Afghan troops opened the assault after making heavy air attacks on Herat areas suspected of sheltering Moslem guerrillas opposed to the government of President Babrak Karmal. The drive reportedly followed several major rebel attacks on Soviet and Afghan forces. It also oc-

Russians Query Boston Lawyer

The Associated Press
MOSCOW — The Soviet police questioned a Boston lawyer and a friend from New Mexico for two hours Thursday after they staged an unusual protest in a Moscow hotel lobby on behalf of the lawyer's Russian son-in-law, who wants to emigrate to the United States. Accompanied by four friends, Lew Pollock, 53, released six helium-filled balloons trailing a banner reading "Free Boris" in the lobby of the Cosmos Hotel. Mr. Pollock said he wanted to draw attention to the case of Boris Molchanov, 35, a music teacher, who is seeking to emigrate and join Ann Pollock, 26. Mr. Pollock said he believed Mr. Molchanov would be allowed to emigrate if the case were brought to the attention of the Soviet leader, Yuri V. Andropov. The lawyer and a fellow protester, Paul Gonzales, 29, were released after two hours of questioning.



TRILATERAL SOCIALIZING — Charles H. Percy, Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman, center, chatted with Soviet Ambassador Anatoli F. Dobrynin, left, and Ambassador Zhang Wenjin at the Chinese Embassy in Washington.

Israeli Troops Reported on Alert

(Continued from Page 1)
on the occupied Golan Heights and asserted that an Israeli attack on Syria was imminent. The exercises Wednesday and Thursday, the radio reports said, coincided with Israel's reinforcing of its troops in the Bekaa Valley. Israel captured the Golan Heights from Syria in the 1967 war and annexed them in 1981. Following the reports in the Israeli media, Israel's opposition Labor Party called for an immediate partial Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, then warned of the "danger of deterioration into war with Syria." In a statement carried by Israel Radio, the party said, "It is impossible to carry on slow and protracted negotiations, interspersed with false announcements about breakthroughs, when our soldiers are stuck in the Lebanese quagmire and when another war is round the corner." The news reports coincided with a statement by the Israeli military command that three Israeli soldiers were killed when they intercepted four guerrillas trying to infiltrate Israeli lines near the Beirut-Damascus highway late Wednesday. It did not say whether the guerrillas were Syrians or Palestinians. The military command reported a sharp increase in the number of attacks on Israeli forces in the last two months. It said the winter lull was followed by nine incidents in March with three Israeli soldiers killed, and eight incidents this month with five deaths. The Israelis contend that the Syrians keep a tight rein on Palestinian guerrillas in territory under their control, and that such attacks would be impossible without Syrian collusion. Some analysts say the current war scare could be aimed at undermining negotiations by the United States, Israel and Lebanon on the withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon. Yossi Olmert, of the Shiloh Institute for Strategic Studies, said in a radio interview that Syria, if unable to stop an agreement, might be trying to harden Lebanon's negotiating stance and show that it was a factor to be considered in the talks. In Khalde, Lebanon, Lebanese and Israeli delegates ended the latest round of U.S.-mediated talks Thursday, deeply divided on the

wording of a draft agreement for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon, officials said. Avi Pazner, the Israeli spokesman, said the military and political subcommittees met in an effort to resolve differences that centered on security arrangements for southern Lebanon. ■ **PLO Meeting in Tunis** Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, opened a meeting of the PLO executive committee on Thursday that is to focus on Palestinian-Jordanian relations. The Associated Press reported from Tunis, quoting a PLO spokesman. ■ **Escort for U.S. Deal** A delegation headed by Undersecretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger left Thursday for Beirut to escort home the bodies of Americans slain in the bombing of the U.S. Embassy in Beirut. The Associated Press reported from Washington. ■ **Iran's Claim** The Iranian government of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and his allies "carried out this cowardly act to compensate for its defeat on the battlefield." He was referring to the Iranian offensive April 10 in the southern sector of the Iran-Iraq battlefield, which the Iraqis claim has been crushed. The inconclusive Gulf war between the two oil-producing nations began in September 1980 with an Iraqi invasion of Iran. Iran alleged that the Iraqis fired three long-range missiles Wednesday on the southwestern Iranian city of Dezful, killing 15 persons and wounding more than 100. Iraq has not commented on the accusation.

Nicaragua Reports Death Of Top Salvadoran Rebel

(Continued from Page 1)
sources said Wednesday night that the Sandinist government in Managua had imprisoned four suspects in the killing. One of the suspects was identified as Marcello Vassaglia, who was described as "someone who worked closely with Marcial," Mr. Carpio's guerrilla name. According to these sources, a woman who worked with Miss Montes allowed Mr. Vassaglia and his companions to enter the house where she was staying in Nicaragua. They fought with her and killed her. The Interior Ministry had reported that her throat was slashed and that she had more than 80 stab wounds. The motives for her killing remain uncertain. Mr. Carpio was in Libya at the time of Miss Montes' death and flew back to Managua for her funeral and to learn what had happened. Reporters who saw him in Managua described Mr. Carpio as looking very old and sick and as wearing a sweater beneath a coat despite the intense heat. There were conflicting reports Wednesday night on the exact manner and place of Mr. Carpio's death. Some reports had him dying in El Salvador and others in Nicaragua. He is buried in Nicaragua. The delay in releasing word of his death, according to Nicaraguan sources, was at the request of other Popular Liberation Forces leaders, who wanted time to notify their commanders and troops in El Salvador. The Interior Ministry made the announcement Wednesday at the request of the Salvadoran guerrillas, these sources said. Notified of Mr. Carpio's death, President Alvaro Magaña of El Salvador said, "This is going to change a lot of things." Mr. Magaña specifically suggested that there would be disarray among guerrillas waging an offensive in various parts of the country to avenge Miss Montes' death.

Study Urges U.S. To Act to Solve Issue of Namibia

United Press International
WASHINGTON — A private study on U.S. policy in Namibia, released Thursday, says the United States should invoke economic sanctions against South Africa unless it agrees to independence for South-West Africa, or Namibia. The study was financed by 24 organizations, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Americans for Democratic Action, the National Urban League and several large unions. The report, which differed with current U.S. policy on almost every point, said that a settlement on Namibia would promote U.S. interests throughout southern Africa and would lead to a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola — a point on which the United States has insisted. ■ **U.S. Policy** The report, which differed with current U.S. policy on almost every point, said that a settlement on Namibia would promote U.S. interests throughout southern Africa and would lead to a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola — a point on which the United States has insisted.

2 Car Bombs Explode in Iraqi Capital

Regime Blames Iran; No Toll Is Reported

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
BEIRUT — Two cars loaded with explosives blew up in Baghdad on Thursday, killing or wounding an undetermined number of people, the Iraqi press agency said. The government of President Saddam Hussein blamed the bombings on "the allies of the Iranian regime," the agency said in a dispatch monitored in Beirut. The government vowed: "We will get revenge." "We have repeatedly warned Iran against carrying out such crimes," said the Iraqi minister of information, Latif Nassif Jassem. The agency did not disclose the number of people killed or wounded by the bombings, which took place in the Baghdad neighborhoods of Salihiyah and Al Alwiyah. Mr. Jassem said the explosions also caused heavy material damage. He said the Iranian government of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and his allies "carried out this cowardly act to compensate for its defeat on the battlefield."

WORLD BRIEFS

Italian Expected to Call for Vote

ROME (AP) — Bettino Craxi, leader of the Socialist Party, will call formally Friday for early general elections and an end to Prime Minister Amintore Fanfani's four-party coalition, political sources said Thursday. The sources said Mr. Craxi would report to his party's central committee on differences with Mr. Fanfani's dominant Christian Democrats and emphasize that elections were needed. Flaminio Piccoli, the president of the Christian Democratic Party, said "only a miracle" could save the coalition. Mr. Piccoli said he expected President Sandro Pertini would have to dissolve Parliament and call early elections, one year ahead of schedule, to resolve the crisis.

Cosmonauts Prepare for Docking

MOSCOW (AP) — Three Soviet cosmonauts are preparing to link their craft to a 40-ton orbiting space lab, "the first time that a piloted spacecraft has docked with such a huge space complex," Radio Moscow said Thursday. The scheduled time of docking was not announced. The Soyuz T-8 spacecraft carrying the mission commander, Lieutenant Colonel Vladimir G. Titov, 36, the engineer, Gennady M. Strukov, 41, and a researcher, Alexander A. Serebrov, 39, was launched Wednesday from Soviet Central Asia. Radio Moscow said Thursday that docking the Soyuz and the Salyut-7 space station would be one of the most difficult stages of the flight.

Irish Leaders Agree on Unity Talks

DUBLIN (Reuters) — Irish political leaders reached agreement Thursday with the main Roman Catholic party in British-ruled Northern Ireland on details of a group to discuss how to unite the country. The group will be called the New Ireland Forum. However, the forum, the latest initiative by the Dublin government to try to solve the problem of Irish unity, is being ignored by leaders of the Protestant majority in Northern Ireland, who want to remain British. Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald, Deputy Prime Minister Dick Spring and the opposition leader Charles Haughey met with John Hume, leader of Northern Ireland's mainly Catholic Social Democratic and Labor Party. They agreed that the new group would begin meeting May 30 in Dublin Castle, former seat of British rule in Ireland, under the presidency of Colin O'Riordan, the head of University College Galway.

Ohio Teamster Will Lead Union

SCOTTSDALE, Arizona (AP) — The leader of the Teamsters in Ohio, Jackie Presser, was unanimously elected president of the union Thursday, succeeding Roy Williams, who resigned after a conspiracy conviction. Mr. Presser, 56, who worked for Ronald Reagan's election in 1980 and later served on his transition team, became the fifth president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, which with 1.8 million members is the largest union in the United States. Mr. Presser's name has been linked to organized crime in Cleveland by a former Mafia assassin, James Frattino. The election by the union's executive board, the top policy-making panel of the union, came in a brief, closed meeting on a voice vote. The election took 10 minutes; there were no other nominations.

Students Stage Protest in Seoul

TOKYO (NYT) — About 1,000 students staged a three-hour protest at a leading South Korean university Thursday, calling for the resignation of President Chun Doo Hwan, according to reports reaching here from Seoul. The police in Seoul said they arrested about 10 ringleaders of the demonstration at Yonsei University, which was broken up by 700 riot police. The demonstration was the third of its kind reported in the last week in Seoul and followed clashes at Yonsei on Tuesday and at Korea University last Friday.

Suits Filed in U.S. Waste Cleanup

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Justice Department and the state of California sued 31 defendants Thursday, including some of the nation's largest corporations, to force them to clean up the Stringfellow acid pits, a toxic-waste dump that allegedly threatens to pollute drinking water in a rural area 50 miles (80 kilometers) east of Los Angeles. The handling of the Stringfellow case played a major role in investigations of alleged scandals at the Environmental Protection Agency. The former EPA administrator, Anne M. Burford, and one of her deputies, Rita Lavelle, are under investigation by the Justice Department for their role in the case. The joint federal-state civil suit was filed in U.S. District Court in Los Angeles. It seeks to compel the defendants to pay for the cleanup, which has already cost \$7 million and which federal officials estimate may cost at least \$36 million more.

For the Record

MADRID (Reuters) — The Spanish parliament has approved a five-year treaty covering the use of military bases by U.S. forces. The treaty, ratified 249-16 on Wednesday, does not prejudice the degree of Spain's integration into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. PARIS (Reuters) — Philippe Augoyard, 29, a French doctor imprisoned in Afghanistan on spying charges, may be released soon, according to a letter reportedly sent by the Afghan authorities to the French Communist leader, Georges Marchais. The letter was released by the French Communist Party. LONDON (UPI) — The Court of Appeals rejected Thursday an appeal by Geoffrey Prime, a convicted spy, for a reduction of his 15-year sentence. He was convicted in November of giving British and U.S. secrets to the Soviet Union over 14 years. WASHINGTON (AP) — The Democratic Party decided Thursday to hold its 1984 national convention in San Francisco. Also bidding for the convention were Chicago, Detroit, New York and Washington. The convention was tentatively set for July 16-20.

Argentines Vow To Defy Ban on Falklands Visit

The Associated Press
BUENOS AIRES — An Argentine vessel carrying family members of soldiers killed in last year's Falkland Islands war with Britain will sail to the islands April 30 despite Britain's assertion that the visit will not be permitted, the president of the Center of Volunteers for the Falkland Islands said Wednesday. Osvaldo Destefanis said the converted cargo vessel Lago Laca, which belongs to the state-owned maritime transport company Elma, will defy Britain to halt it. "If British forces prevent us from realizing this humanitarian journey it will demonstrate to the world the fallacy of so-called English humanitarianism," Mr. Destefanis said. Britain said last month that it had no objections "in principle" to a trip by relatives of the Argentine war dead to the islands if the International Red Cross guaranteed the purely humanitarian nature of the visit. The Red Cross issued a statement Wednesday saying it could not provide such guarantees "for the moment." It said the attitude assumed by the Center of Volunteers was "contrary to the principle of neutrality" the Red Cross must defend. Two hundred and twenty-one Argentine soldiers are buried near the town of Darwin, 50 miles (80 kilometers) west of the capital of Stanley.

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April 22, 1983

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Communist Party in France Struggles to Overcome Kindness of the Socialists

By Michael Dobbs

Washington Post Service

Paris — The French Communist Party is probably weaker now than at any time since World War II, despite being part of the national government for nearly two years. It is the view of many independent political analysts who, however, expect the party's decline to continue. Recent opinion polls give the Communist Party little more than 10 percent of the popular vote, down from 28 percent in the general elections of 1978.

times has been particularly marked during the last decade, coinciding with the leadership of Georges Marchais. In this period, the Communists have lost their position as the left's largest party to the Socialists under Francois Mitterrand.

The electoral decline has left the party uncertain about its place in French politics and its attitude toward Moscow.

Despite dabbling in Eurocommunism, the French Communists have never gone as far in criticizing the Kremlin as the Italians or the Spanish. At home, their relationship with the Socialists has veered

from cooperation to bitter rivalry and back again.

In unsuccessful attempts to reverse his party's slide in the polls, Mr. Marchais performed a series of U-turns in the 1970s, first seeking and then abruptly walking out of a political alliance with the Socialists. After winning only 15 percent of the vote in the first round of the presidential elections in May 1981, he switched his support to Mr. Mitterrand.

By offering the Communists four posts in his cabinet, though they were relatively minor, Mr. Mitter-

rand caused alarms to ring in Washington.

His own view, however, was that the Communists were easier to control inside the government than outside, particularly after he showed that he did not need their votes to have a majority in the National Assembly.

The Socialist strategy seems to be to try to kill the Communists with kindness. Socialist leaders constantly praise their Communist colleagues for their contributions to the government but make the most important decisions by themselves.

From the Communist point of view, joining the government has helped them win a certain amount of respectability and a share in political appointments. But it has also provoked a crisis of identity and a loss of enthusiasm among rank-and-file party activists.

For the past few weeks, the non-Communist press has been gleefully reporting how the Communist Party is being made to "swallow snakes."

Among the "snakes" are the expulsion of 47 Soviet officials, the government's "Atlanticist" foreign

policy and a rigid austerity program.

Symptomatic of the disquiet within the party ranks was an internal document circulated by dissident activists before this week's meeting of the policy-making Central Committee. The document criticized the government for not being sufficiently leftist and said that the Socialists remained a "traditionally anti-Soviet and anti-Communist party."

Despite rumors that he might be replaced, Mr. Marchais carried the day at the meeting with a forceful defense of the government's

record. Praising the nationalizations in industry and such social reforms as retirement at age 60, he said he would gladly swallow such snakes "morning, noon and night."

As is Communist Party practice, the report was adopted unanimously. This, however, seems to have done little to restore his overall credibility and only papers over differences of opinion on long-term strategy.

In a recent newspaper interview, the sociologist Alain Touraine described the party as "a sandcastle surrounded by the sea."

Mr. Touraine predicted that if the party left the government, its share of the popular vote would fall quickly to below 10 percent. If it remained in the government, he said, the same decline would occur, but perhaps a little more slowly.

"The Communist Party doesn't have a future anymore," Mr. Touraine said.

"From the moment when the party ceased to be a Leninist party and no longer became identified with the whole of the left, which is now better represented by the Socialists, it was condemned to decline."

Strauss, Citing Death at Border, Asks Kohl to Be Firm With East

Reuters

FRANKFURT — Franz Josef Strauss, leader of West Germany's conservative Christian Social Union, demanded Thursday a tougher line and East Germany by Chancellor Helmut Kohl over the death of a West German at a Berlin border.

Mr. Strauss met with Mr. Kohl to discuss future relations between East and West Germany. Earlier, Strauss issued the text of a message in which he demanded that Bonn react to reported East German moves to strengthen its wily fortified frontier with West Germany.

Meanwhile, a joint East-West border commission meeting in Berlin heard more details on the death of Rudolf Burkert, a border-crossing post April 1.

Peter Kalischek, deputy head of the West German delegation at the talks, said the East Germans had given a "comprehensive and interesting" explanation.

The West German government said that a previous East German statement that Mr. Burkert died of a heart attack — an assertion that Bonn does not dispute — was insufficient, and it has demanded an explanation for wounds found on his head and neck.

Mr. Kohl rejected Thursday a suggestion by former Chancellor Willy Brandt, chairman of the opposition Social Democratic Party, at a central committee investigation dispute.

"The chancellor thinks Mr. Burkert's suggestion is not useful," a government spokesman said.

Informal sources said East Germany had notified Bonn soon after Mr. Burkert died and provided a full account of the next day of circumstances and cause of his death.

Sau, the sources added, the chancellor's office and the West Ger-

man Interior Ministry did nothing with the report for five days before reacting Saturday after rightist newspapers seized on the case.

The official East German news agency ADN has reported that Mr. Burkert was stopped at the border because he had contacted East German relatives and given them gifts. The practice is illegal under an agreement that allows West Germans to travel through East Germany to West Berlin.

The border incident dominated Thursday's regular meeting of the East-West German Transit Commission, which usually deals with routine travel and access problems.

During a break in the session, Mr. Kalischek said the West German delegation had complained to the East Germans about a recent series of detentions based only on suspicion. He said West Germans who followed the rules of the transit agreement should not have to fear traveling through East Germany.

The Burkert case has resulted in a sharp setback for recently improved relations between East and West Germany. It has placed in jeopardy a proposed visit to Bonn by Erich Honecker, the East German leader, and one to East Germany by President Karl Carstens of West Germany.

The incident has also caused a deep rift within the Kohl government. Mr. Strauss is citing the case in urging tougher West German policies toward the Soviet bloc.

But the liberal Free Democratic Party does not want Mr. Burkert's death to damage Bonn's policy of cooperation with Eastern Europe.

■ Kohl and Thatcher Confer
Mr. Kohl arrived in London on Thursday night for talks with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. The Associated Press reported, Nuclear arms control in Europe and peace in the Middle East were the key items on their agenda.

The chancellor was greeted at Heathrow Airport by Foreign Secretary Francis Pym.



Michel Rocard explains France's problems with West Germany's taxes on farm imports.

Paris-Bonn Dispute Stalls EC Farm Pricing

Reuters

LUXEMBOURG — A dispute between France and West Germany over farm trade held up agreement Thursday on 1983 price increases for the European Community's eight million farmers.

The agriculture ministers agreed to hold further talks Wednesday in Luxembourg. But with France and West Germany at odds over taxes and subsidies applied to farm trade between countries, there appeared to be little chance of a final agreement.

As the ministers ended a three-day bargaining session in the early hours Thursday, Michel Rocard of France said the split with West Germany was the main thing holding up the annual pricing package.

Other ministers said there was broad agreement between most governments that a sharp increase in the EC's spending on farm subsidies caused by surplus produce meant that farmers could be offered no more than an extra 4.2-percent price increase this year.

Mr. Rocard insisted on a substantial cut in the 13-percent tax currently applied at the West German border on all farm imports, which he said was shutting French farmers out of one of their most lucrative markets. The border taxes also anger farmers in Italy, who say they cannot compete.

"We cannot accept that our exports are penalized," Mr. Rocard said. He called the border taxes, known as monetary compensatory amounts, a "diabolical mechanism."

The taxes apply because of the gap between the artificial currency in which West German farmers are paid by the community and the market's real value, which is much higher.

But Agriculture Minister Ignaz Kiechle of West Germany, who went to Bonn on Wednesday to discuss the dispute with Chancellor Helmut Kohl, made it clear that he could not accept any major cut in the taxes. Each reduction of 1 percent would cut a similar amount



Ignaz Kiechle

off price increases for West German farmers, he said.

Senior diplomats said hopes of an agreement now rested on the result of expected high-level contacts between Bonn and Paris during the next few days.

Sen. Glenn Declares for Presidency

United Press International

NEW CONCORD, Ohio — Senator John H. Glenn Jr., pledging to put an end to the "national tragedy" and national disgrace of the Reagan administration, declared his candidacy Thursday for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Mr. Glenn, who was the first American astronaut to orbit Earth, entered the presidential race saying the "issue is leadership."

Describing the administration of President Ronald Reagan as a "nostalgic retreat into the myths of the past," Senator Glenn said, "I say it's time to put America on the march."

Mr. Glenn, 61, announced his candidacy in the gymnasium of John Glenn High School in this town, where he grew up.

"The first duty of government is to keep our people alive, independent and free," said the senator, a former Marine colonel who pledged to "keep America's defense the strongest on earth."

At the same time he called for a verifiable freeze on nuclear weapons, saying that in today's world "all that we cherish can vanish at the blink of an eye" and "every word and deed of the president can move us closer to annihilation."

During his 1980 election campaign, President Reagan often spoke of a shining city on a hill, he said. "It is no shining city that denies education, destroys jobs and diminishes opportunity. It is a national tragedy and a national disgrace and I say we're going to put an end to it."

He ends the race a distant second in the polls behind former Vice President Walter F. Mondale, but ahead of the rest of the pack — Senators Alan Cranston of California, Gary Hart of Colorado and Ernest F. Hollings of South Carolina and former Governor Reubin Askew of Florida.

Senate Panel Approves Repeal of U.S. Tax Cut

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — The Republican-controlled Senate Budget Committee, in a surprising setback for President Ronald Reagan, approved Thursday a 1984 budget that assumes repeal of this year's 10-percent cut in federal income taxes.

The final vote sending the budget to the Senate floor was 13-4. The action was taken after the 12 Republicans on the 22-member committee failed to unite behind Mr. Reagan's revised budget proposal.

Senator Pete V. Domenici of New Mexico, the committee chairman, and other Republicans then decided to side temporarily with Democrats to approve tax increases amounting to \$268 billion over five years.

Mr. Domenici made it clear he would "fight that number" in an effort to reduce it on the Senate floor.

But he and other Republicans said they were siding with Democrats for the present to get around a roadblock that has delayed approval of a budget plan for several weeks.

Overall, the emerging budget calls for spending of about \$851 billion for the 1984 fiscal year, which begins Oct. 1.

It includes a 5-percent increase in military spending, after inflation, compared to the 10 percent asked by Mr. Reagan.

On domestic spending, the plan provides about \$11.3 billion more than Mr. Reagan originally proposed.

Democrats said their plan for tax increases assumes repeal of the 10-percent cut in individual income tax rates scheduled for this summer, as well as repeal of tax indexing, a plan to adjust tax rates in the future to account for inflation.

That tax increase was approved 12-4 after Mr. Reagan's proposal for tax increases — most of them

standby measures to begin in 1986 — was rejected, 10-6.

The committee has been openly defying Mr. Reagan for weeks in a series of preliminary votes on components of the budget resolution.

Republican leaders were hoping for a compromise with the White House, but a final series of talks Wednesday produced none, and the committee went ahead on its own Thursday.

The meeting Wednesday between committee members and White House aides marked the first time since January that the president had signaled a serious willingness to compromise, and Thursday's quick action came as a surprise.

In other action Thursday, the full Senate approved a Republican compromise that would repeal withholding of taxes from interest and dividends.

By a 91-5 vote, the Senate attached to a minor trade bill a provision barring withholding unless both houses of Congress approve it in 1987.

Only one Republican — John C. Danforth of Missouri — and four Democrats — Alan Cranston of California, Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, Frank T. Lautenberg of New Jersey and Howard M. Metzenbaum of Ohio — voted against repeal.

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Carrington Decries 'War of Nerves' With Soviet

By R.W. Apple Jr.

New York Times Service

LONDON — Lord Carrington, former British foreign secretary, warned the West on Thursday that not to reduce its diplomatic efforts with the Soviet Union to "clear accountability."

"The notion that we should face Russians down in a silent war of nerves, broken only by bursts of gaphone diplomacy," he told an audience, "is based on a conception of our own values, Soviet behavior and of the anxieties of our own peoples."

In a speech that contained several roaches to President Ronald Reagan and to the more bellicose elements in his own Conservative Party, Lord Carrington said he aimed to him "extraordinary, and

against the dictates of common sense and of the evidence of our own eyes, for anyone to claim that the West in military terms is in any danger of sinking to its knees."

He argued that the "... of existing nuclear forces in the West, 'not to speak of their accuracy,' plus the quality and morale of existing conventional forces, constituted a powerful deterrent."

This and other "solid, simple facts," he said, "seem to be in danger of erosion by a potent combination of passionate political advocacy and technocratic obscurity."

He called for a different approach at the Geneva disarmament talks.

What is needed, Lord Carrington said, is "dialogue, openness, sanity and a nonideological approach." What is not needed, he

added, is the rigidity of John Foster Dulles, one of Mr. Reagan's ideological forebears, whom he quoted as saying there could never be "a self-serving deal with the despotic leaders of captive peoples."

"My conclusion is not that we can afford to be generous in Geneva," the 63-year-old Tory peer declared. "No. What I am saying is that these talks should be conducted in an atmosphere of calm confidence, and that the broader political dimension of East-West relations should be constantly at the forefront of the Western mind."

He added, "It would be wrong to approach these important negotiations on the military defensive — on the military alert — and for our dialogue with the East to be bogged down by fear of military inferiority."

One of the main reasons for the upsurge of nuclear debate in the West is that this mood of sobriety and calm resolution has not always been encouraged by Western governments."

Lord Carrington's words were given weight by his standing in British life and in the diplomatic community, by the forum he chose and by the political context.

He spoke Thursday night before an invited audience of diplomats, foreign-policy analysts, government officials and journalists at Kings College in London. The occasion was the prestigious Alastair Buchan Memorial Lecture.

Although he resigned after the Argentine invasion of the Falkland Islands a year ago, then dropped out of political activity, he has returned in recent months to a key place in the informal councils of the government.

"There is no longer any doubt about the decline of the East and of the Soviet empire," Lord Carrington declared. "Moscow is already a decaying Byzantium."

Soviet Arms Violations Claimed

(Continued from Page 1)

terms of the second arms agreement. Last fall, Moscow tested a blum-size intercontinental missile known in the West as the SS-X, and advised Washington this was the one new missile permitted for the second treaty.

In March 8, officials said, an agency group co-chaired by hard N. Perle, assistant secretary of defense for international security policy, and Admiral Arthur Howe, director of the Department's Bureau of Naval-Military Affairs, concluded: "The Feb. 5 Soviet test of another missile, known as the PL-5, violated the second strategic arms treaty."

Officials said the group concluded that either this test involved a new ICBM, where the treaty permitted only one, or that by adding almost all of the more than 200 channels of telemetry from the test, the Russians violated the treaty's ban on excessive encryption that would "peddle" the U.S. verification of compliance with the treaty.

The Soviet Union was reported to have told the United States that PL-5 missile launched from its test site, was a modern-

ization of its light SS-13 ICBM, an improvement permitted under the treaty.

In an extremely detailed, carefully prepared speech on the Senate floor last week, Senator McClure charged that this was only one of several "militarily significant violations or circumventions" of past nuclear arms treaties by the Soviet Union.

Some senators have said privately that Senator McClure seemed to be working with information supplied by the administration and may have been acting as "a stalking horse" to air some of the administration's suspicions.

Among what Mr. McClure listed as "actions of greatest concern" to the United States were:

- Development of two new types of intercontinental ballistic missiles.

- Testing of a new mobile air-defense system, the SA-12 missile, as part of a nationwide anti-ballistic missile defense system forbidden by the 1972 ABM treaty.

- Concealed deployment of the banned mobile SS-16 missile around the Plesetsk test range.

- Underground nuclear tests of up to 250 kilotons in excess of the 150-kiloton limit imposed by two treaties.

- "Rapid reload and refire exercises of the SS-18 missile" and stockpiling other extra missiles, thus circumventing limits on missile launchers.

- Deployment of long-range air-to-surface cruise missiles on Tu-95 Bear intercontinental bombers and

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Two Salvadoran Wars

Somewhere in El Salvador a workable center may exist that the United States can help with an untroubled conscience. Somehow a paragon may emerge who can contain a leftist insurgency, show respect for human rights and press effectively for social reform. But the frustrations of the search are evident in the rise and fall of Defense Minister José Guillermo García, until recently Washington's reform model of a good Salvadoran general.

He was the most conservative of the reform-minded junior officers who ousted a dictator in 1979. As the others departed he survived, thanks to astute juggling of field commands and an ability to mollify anxious North Americans. He outraged oligarchs by promoting land reform, but otherwise he did the minimum in curbing human rights abuses. He salvaged last year's election by thwarting the victorious extreme right and installing a moderate as interim president.

Now Gen. García has been fired by that president, Alvaro Magaña, after an open rebellion by field commanders and an emphatic nudge from Washington. For all his public relations skills, Gen. García was faulted by fellow officers for running a 9-to-5 war against tireless guerrillas, and he was losing.

An impatient United States hopes for better from his successor, also described as a moder-

ate, Gen. Carlos Eugenio Vides Casanueva, who has been commander of the National Guard since 1979. He is said to have cleaned up the guard somewhat, although it was during his tenure that four U.S. churchwomen were killed while in the custody of his troops. Just possibly, he will live up to his billing as a mediator and use his U.S. backing to promote a plausible political strategy, while providing more effective military leadership.

But unless Salvadorans feel they have a Salvadoran cause to fight for, changing generals will not change the tide of battle. All the U.S. support will not help — indeed, it could hinder — unless peasants believe a victory would truly advance economic justice and personal dignity. That, alas, depends more on what Salvadorans think of their government than on what Washington thinks of their generals.

The large doubts in Congress, and in Mexico City, about Reagan administration policy will not be dispelled by a new defense Minister, or by promises that the planned December elections will finally bring the elusive center to power. What is needed is less talk about Cuban subversion and more emphasis on the other war in El Salvador. If opposition democrats can be brought to trust and join the governing process, the center might yet hold.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

Answers About Poland

Political symbols take on special meaning for nations that are denied a normal political life. That has long been true in Poland, where the icon of the Black Madonna of Czestochowa once came to stand for the survival of the nation's spirit. With the suppression of Solidarity and the suffocation of open politics, political struggle again turns on symbols.

For weeks now, populists have been trying to seize the legitimizing symbols of Polish society from the mailed grasp of Warsaw's paramilitary regime. Who will be the pope — the ideologists of atheism, or the church-going workers of Solidarity?

Who is the heir to the uprising of the Warsaw ghetto — General Jaruzelski's jackboots, or the bounded remnants of Solidarity? Who has the right to identify with the victims of anti-Semitism — a propaganda apparatus that still exploits code words like "Jewish origins" and "Zionist connections," or the victims of such propaganda?

And who is entitled to commemorate May Day — the state that crushes unions, or the defiant workers who try to keep them alive?

As they say in Eastern Europe, to pose such questions is to answer them.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

Reagan and Volcker

For three and a half years, Paul Volcker, the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, has served his country with immense skill and steady nerve. His term expires in August, and there is talk at the White House of replacing him then. President Reagan is said to be inclined to appoint a candidate of his own. That is fair enough. But a change of chairman usually means a change of policy. Precisely what sort of a change, and what sort of a chairman, does the Reagan administration want?

The list of possible candidates is not long. The next chairman needs to have high standing in Washington and in the financial world. He will need to be as astute as the present one in dealing with Congress, where much of America's economic policy is now being made. He will need to know a good deal about the technical side of central banking and the international money system. This is unusually important, for the Treasury Department has less international expertise at the top levels than at any previous time in memory.

The only Reagan appointee on the Federal Reserve Board is its vice chairman, Preston Martin; his qualifications do not self-evidently seem to be those required for the chairman's job. There are prominent Republicans who are equipped for the chairmanship, but most support Mr. Volcker's policies.

It is quite true that in the Volcker years the Federal Reserve has risen to great political prominence. But that is not Mr. Volcker's doing. It is the result of Mr. Reagan's failed economic strategy, and the budget deficits.

Very large deficits necessarily expand the political role of the central bank. It has happened in several European countries in recent years, notably West Germany, and it has happened in the United States. It is fair to say that far too much political responsibility has been pushed onto the Federal Reserve by the elected officials who ought to be carrying it. By refusing to deal with the consequences of its deficits, the Reagan administration has forced on the Federal Reserve decisions that far transcend the normal reach of an independent appointive agency.

The administration has left to the Federal Reserve the terrible choices between inflation and unemployment. The Fed has brought the inflation rate close to zero; the cost in unemployment has been substantial, but the signs of economic recovery are now appearing. If Mr. Reagan thinks the Fed ought to follow a different course he would do well to be explicit. If he does not want it to follow a different course he might usefully reconsider the wisdom of replacing the chairman.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

Other Opinion

Reagan and Central America

President Reagan has decided to use a joint session of Congress as his forum to address the American people on the defense of the hemisphere. It's about time. Isolationists have mired us in squabbles about how secret our defense should be, whether we help or hinder the anti-Communist forces with our aid, and whether we are going to be drawn into another Vietnam. The president has a duty to lift the nation's eyes to the essential debate: In the face of an undeniable penetration of Central America by forces beholden to a foreign power, does the United States have the will to organize and supply the resistance — and the skill to enable the local anti-Communist forces to win their own battles? Are we so transfixed by our Vietnam defeat that we cannot help mount a defense of our own continent?

—William Safire in The New York Times

Paying With Their Lives

The period between the wars of 1948 and 1967 gave us an opportunity to review the tragic events which culminated in the establishment of a Zionist state over four-fifths of

the original Palestinian patrimony. Some people remembered that Israel had acquired twice as much land as was assigned to it by General Assembly resolution 181 of Nov. 29, 1948, and that this resolution provided Israel's claim to legitimacy. They also remembered that the same resolution called for the establishment of a Palestinian Arab state beside the Jewish state. Many of those who remembered wondered whether our fathers had been wrong to turn down the international option of 1947. Said Hammami was one of the courageous few who wondered aloud.

Said believed that all forces favoring Palestinian self-determination — including Israeli ones — should be enlisted in support of the Palestinian cause. Naturally enough, such activity was highly controversial and was strongly opposed by some Arabs and Palestinians.

Said Hammami had to pay for his vision and courage with his life. One day our future generations will honor him as a man who loved his country and his people with a passionate sincerity that had no use for rhetoric.

—The late Issam Sartawi (assassinated on April 10, speaking in 1978 at a memorial service for a fellow Palestinian, Said Hammami, slain the month before. These excerpts appear in Middle East International (London).

FROM OUR APRIL 22 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1908: Shooting in Guatemala

MEXICO CITY — A dispatch from the Foreign Minister of Guatemala says that an attempt was made on the life of President Cabrera as he was going to the palace to receive the new American Minister. Several men opened fire with revolvers as he stepped from his carriage. One shot took effect in his right hand. The police and the president's military escort pursued the would-be assassins and many arrests were made. Senor Estrada Cabrera was elected President of Guatemala in 1898 and re-elected in 1904 for the term from 1905 to 1911. His presidency has been enlivened by rather more than the average number of conspiracies, revolts and invasions, and many attempts have been made on his life.

1933: Mussolini on Commerce

ROME — Speaking recently at the inaugural meeting of the Inter-Parliamentary Trade Conference, in the presence of the King of Italy, Premier Mussolini called for a better political atmosphere as the first condition for the solution of world economic problems. The Duce declared himself opposed to the system of quotas and exchange restrictions, "which hamper the flow of commerce." Where Italy had been compelled to adopt such measures, he said, it had kept them within the most modest means possible, and used them to re-establish reciprocity with other countries. He welcomed the spread of the conviction that international debts could not be paid in money, but only in goods and services.

Bringing Other Americans Into Play

By James Reston

WASHINGTON — The fighting in Central America may have one beneficial effect. It is forcing the United States and the leaders of the Contadora group — Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama — to recognize the common danger and at least discuss the possibility of a negotiated settlement of the crisis.

The U.S. secretaries of state, treasury and commerce were recently in Mexico City talking about this issue, and that indicates some change of attitude by the Reagan administration.

A year ago the National Security Council produced a private memorandum, obtained by The New York Times, suggesting that Mexico be kept "isolated" on Central American issues because "it contains public and covert support for the extreme left [in Nicaragua and El Salvador] with propaganda, funds and political support."

That is still the view of influential members of the Reagan administration, but the outlook in Central America is for a protracted military struggle that nobody in Washington wants. The preference is for a negotiated settlement, which Washington is not likely to get by itself.

In recent weeks a group of distinguished U.S. and Latin American private citizens has been studying the wider problems of the hemisphere. They met under the auspices of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and issued a report, the other day, entitled "The Americas at a Crossroads." The co-chairmen were Sol M. Linowitz, former U.S. envoy, and Galo Plaza, former president of Ecuador.

The final report dealt with the economic, cultural, human and security problems of the Americas. It said, referring to the Contadora group: "We call on the presidents of these countries to go a step further and involve themselves directly in regional negotiations. These countries are well positioned to play such a role, for they enjoy good relations with the countries of Central America and with the United States, and most of them have relations with Cuba."

"They have an urgent interest in ending Central America's tragedy, and they have the confidence of the relevant actors. The United States should make it clear that it favors and encourages an active role by the Contadora group in seeking an end to the Central American conflict, and that it stands ready to join the discussions as that may be appropriate."

This report recognizes the U.S. strategic interest in opposing the spread of communist influence in the hemisphere and particularly in areas close to the Panama Canal, but it emphasizes that this is not only a U.S. problem.

"It is our firm conviction," the report said, "that even where there is a military dimension to conflict, as in Central America, the solutions ultimately lie in economic and social development and political dialogue, not in weapons or military advisers. Even when external support for insurrection clearly is present, as in El Salvador, the underlying problems remain domestic."

It will not be easy to get the enthusiastic endorsement of these points here in Washington. Jeane Kirkpatrick said at the United Nations that the United States would have "no objection" to the Contadora nations exploring the possibility of negotiations, but the main dialogue in Washington is about more arms.

The history of U.S. military intervention in the last century and a half is still vivid in Latin memories, especially in Mexico, which lost title to Texas, California and other territory under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. Resentment of that amputation is still encouraged in schoolbooks of Mexican children.

Even if the Latin Americans recognize the danger of communist expansion in the hemisphere, which some do, any U.S. military intervention below the Rio Grande sends a shudder through the Latin American capitals.

They have not forgotten the CIA's operations,

at the Bay of Pigs, and many of them resented U.S. aid to Britain during the Falklands war.

Secretary of State George Shultz is arguing for more military aid to the anti-communist forces in Central America and presumably goes along with CIA operations there, but it is not his way to "isolate" Mexico or anybody else who might explore the possibilities of a settlement.

The outlook is not good. Even if Mr. Shultz can get the enthusiastic backing of the president, National Security Adviser William Clark and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger for his gentler approach, the military problem will remain until it is resolved by force or negotiation.

The New York Times



Helping the Emerging Countries to Help

By Joseph Grunwald

WASHINGTON — Developing countries are not always seen as actors in the world economic recovery. Yet as a group the newly industrializing countries — the NICs — of Latin America and Asia have become almost as important in world trade as the United States, and more important than Japan or any of the countries in Western Europe.

All of the Latin American NICs and some elsewhere are deep in debt. So long as they are smothered by current interest and principal payments, they cannot contribute to an international economic expansion.

There is pent-up demand for imports in the developing countries — not for consumer goods but machinery, equipment, replacement parts, industrial supplies and technology in order to continue industrialization.

The NICs were doing well in the 1960s and '70s; their economic growth was faster than that of the industrial countries. Despite the oil shock of 1973-74 they kept on growing, in Latin America in large part due to easy access to credit from the private banks in industrial countries.

That dynamism translated into increasing imports of capital goods from the developed countries. So long as their expansion continued, the NICs had no trouble meeting the obligations of their rising debt.

Then came the second oil price ex-

plosion of 1979 and a sharp rise in real interest rates as the industrial countries set out to fight inflation. The collapse of raw material prices in the ensuing recession was the final blow. By 1982 all of the NICs and most other countries in Latin America found themselves unable to service their huge debts. The necessary restructuring of this debt has strained the international financial system.

The other side of the story is that, industrialization, they need breathing space from their debt burden. Even a large infusion of new loans may not relieve them from having to use a hefty portion of their scarce foreign exchange earnings for payment of interest and principal.

Debt service will have to be postponed longer than the few months requested by several countries and usually granted by the private foreign banks, which have had few other op-

portunities to agree to such a scheme unless they are assured of an adequate return or convinced that the alternatives are worse.

Therefore, if such a long-term debt restructuring is considered essential, private bank loans may need to be transferred to public bodies, such as national governments or central banks, international agencies like the World Bank or the Inter-American Development Bank or, preferably, to a not-yet-existing world central bank. The private banks would be compensated at slightly less than the full value of their developing country loans.

Would this not serve to bail out irresponsible developing country governments and greedy private banks? Perhaps, but no purpose is served by finger-pointing at this stage. All energies ought to be marshaled for a rapid, sound and lasting world economic recovery.

New credits to developing countries, including those from the International Monetary Fund, should be based on good projects and sound government programs. Obviously, reforms and austerity should be part of these. Curtailing vital imports of industrial inputs, implicit in some current IMF conditions, should not.

If the NICs, particularly those hardest hit in Latin America, are not given the opportunity to continue and accelerate their economic growth, a vital impetus to a more vigorous world recovery will be lost. Even worse, in the absence of a significant recovery, debt moratoriums may be forced on the international financial community as governments in Latin America find it politically impossible to squeeze their populations further. That could easily cascade in the world financial markets, with devastating consequences for Western economic recovery.

It is better to take international action now than to paper over future crises by ad hoc measures that will prove to be more burdensome and deficient in long-term results. It is time to broaden our thinking about international interdependence: Let the intrinsic dynamism of the emerging countries help fuel a resurgence of the world economy.

The writer is a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and a professor of economics at George Washington University. He contributed this comment to The Washington Post.

Collective Management Is Overdue

By Harold Lever

LONDON — The central banks of the United States, Western Europe and Japan recently found themselves forced to take emergency measures against widespread default on international bank lending. Their collective emergency action, although necessary and laudable, has so far been outside any context of collective strategy for dealing with the fundamental problems involved.

George Shultz and Donald Regan have in general terms recognized the need for such a strategy, but it is not by any means clear that world leaders understand the urgency of the need for firm, coherent action.

The world's bankers, traders and governments have committed huge funds in loans to the weak countries of the world. Nobody can now believe that these borrowers can meet their obligations without massive supporting action by the leading governments. That action should have been in place eight or nine years ago.

These vast loans were originated by the leading governments because they recognized that finance on a great scale had to be provided to deal with the large deficits created after the oil price rise of late 1973.

Individual bankers were in no position to make the decision on the aggregate amounts to be provided or on their direction or terms. No decision was made by any government on these crucial matters. This abdication of responsibility by the governments of the United States, Europe and Japan must now be repaired.

The dangers in the present situation are great. The fragile economic and political systems of the weaker countries are under dangerous pressure. World trade has suffered grave injury and worse threatens. The banking system of the advanced countries is seriously endangered. If this continues the prospect for world recovery will be bleak indeed.

The leading governments must take the overdue action to bring greater stability to this disorderly scene. Firstly, they must take collective and coherent action to underpin past lending. Secondly, they will have to organize collective support arrangements to ensure a future flow of funds on a satisfactory basis to these hard-pressed borrowers. The present emergency arrangements, although necessary, do not resemble anything that can be called a sustainable system for ensuring these purposes.

The solution does not lie in trying to shore up permanently the present ramshackle and anarchic arrangements but in bringing into being a durable system for dealing with deficit finance to the poorer countries covering past and future borrowing. Solutions can undoubtedly be found

if there is a serious recognition of what is at stake and a corresponding firmness of cooperative purpose.

These governments must deal, too, with the generalized monetary disorder that has marked the international scene since the breakdown of Bretton Woods. Unmanaged and spasmodic movements of world money in recent years have caused excessive volatility, deflated parities and subjected the world economy to grave damage.

Governments in the United States, Western Europe and Japan must agree to act collectively to bring greater stability. The vast destabilizing funds which flow from one center to another could readily be countered if there was a sure collective purpose directed to avoiding at least the grosser divergencies of parities from fundamental economic factors.

This cannot be achieved unilaterally. Indeed, what is called the floating rate system has proved in practice to be a recipe for chronic and ineffective unilateralism. The spasmodic unilateral interventions of the past must now be replaced by effective collective action flexible enough to accept adjustments but firm enough to protect us from the grosser distortions of parities which we have witnessed in recent years.

After World War II, Bretton Woods provided an outline structure for the orderly management of parity

relationships. Our leaders, in accepting the demolition of Bretton Woods in the early 1970s, pledged themselves to bring into being an up-to-date and more flexible world system. The world has paid dearly for their failure to redeem this pledge.

All this relates to the central question of the 20th century — how, in an increasingly integrated world, we are to reconcile national decisions with the protection and advancement of the economic and political interests that we have in common.

This purpose is now the conventional wisdom, but it remains largely rhetoric unsupported by adequate arrangements and agencies to support it. (Indeed, the last decade has seen a serious weakening of these agencies.)

The required collective and cooperative action is centrally dependent upon specific initiatives of the three great centers of world power in the advanced countries acting together.

Nowhere is the inadequacy of present arrangements more obvious than in the area of international banking and in the finance of international deficits. And the disorder in these areas prejudices not only domestic money management but economic cooperation leading to more harmonious relationships between the policies of different countries.

If the Williamsburg summit is to be more than a public relations fiasco, clear decisions should be taken and early action should follow.

The writer, Lord Lever of Manchester, contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Policy on Cambodia

Regarding "Cambodia Deserves a Break" (IHT, March 31) by David Ablin and Marlowe Hood:

The writers seem to feel that international sanctions against the Vietnamese occupiers of Cambodia have little effect in inducing them to pull out. That may be so, but the "carrot" advocates have seldom induced the Vietnamese communists to abide by international law or United Nations resolutions. This is evident in the invasions and continued occupations of Cambodia and Laos and in the attempt to colonize them.

It may well be time that the United States and other Western nations introduced the "stick" in inducing Vietnam to withdraw. In violating numerous articles of international law and human rights, especially the right to self-determination, Hanoi has placed itself in the position of fighting a legitimate liberation force — especially the UN-recognized government in exile and the factions involved in the Cambodian coalition.

As Messrs. Ablin and Hood agree that the global communist Khmer Rouge (once fully supported by North Vietnam) should never return to power, we should give serious consideration to the increasing proposals for delivering both humanitarian and military assistance to the noncommunist forces of the Cambodian resistance coalition.

The "unsavory coalition government-in-exile" is, in fact, both a strategic and a political necessity for the Cambodians. Although almost every Cambodian family has lost someone to Pol Pot's genocide, Cambodians

realize that the present participation of the Khmer Rouge is needed in liberating the country from Vietnamese occupation.

Countries of the free world should support the noncommunist resistance forces of Son Sann and Prince Sihanouk. Their combined military force will soon match that of the Khmer Rouge. Their popularity with the Cambodian masses is well established. Their combined political credibility abroad is witnessed in their relations with the United Nations, individual nations and leaders of democratic governments.

The Vietnamese and their Soviet advisers have banished all freedoms and created hundreds of thousands of refugees through the mass terror of repression, chemical war and so-called "re-education camps."

HARRY W. HAYES, South-East Asian International Action Committee, Geneva.

What Africa Needs

Colin Legum writes (in "The West Should Help Africa," IHT, April 18) that no competent authority has challenged the brand commission's recommendations to help finance the economies of the South. But such loans are gifts that rarely produce beneficial results. The important resources that the developing countries "cannot find" are knowledge, spirit of enterprise, good management, hard work and honesty. As for a competent authority, I refer Mr. Legum to Prof. Peter Bauer of the London School of Economics.

STEFAN BRYKCYNSKI, London.

Against Deployment

Regarding the editorial "Distrustful" (IHT, April 7):

I am a devotee of your newspaper and admire its high standard of reporting and analysis. However, this editorial betrays a lack of comprehension of the anti-nuclear movement.

One should not undertake to discuss the spectacular growth of the reversion against the nuclear arms race "without entering into the debate of the specific merits of the Reagan administration's nuclear policies or of U.S. policies in general."

People in Britain do not want nuclear weapons based in their densely populated land; they know that nuclear or chemical tactical weapons will lead to large-scale massacres of civilians. They feel that the United States is mainly responsible for the end of détente and the present tension and deterioration of East-West relations. They have good reason to believe that the insistence of the United States, against European public opinion, on going ahead with the deployment of cruise and Pershing II, motivated by global American strategy and not by European security.

They suspect that the present dangerous acceleration of the arms race is more due to internal pressure by defense contractors than to any real Soviet threat, and they fear that this perceived threat is more likely to become a reality as a result of present U.S. policies. It is the infatuation of military strategists with the destructive power of nuclear weapons that threatens Europe and the world.

ROSE KNIGHT, Canterbury, England.

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Reagan Advisers Urge Jail Terms and Fines for Information Leaks

By Robert Pear
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — A committee of Reagan administration officials proposed a law under which government employees who improperly disclose classified information would be subject to a criminal penalty of three years in prison and a fine of up to \$10,000.

The committee, in an internal report, said: "Unauthorized disclosure of classified information has become an increasingly common occurrence."

However, it added, "there is no single statute that makes it a crime for a government employee to disclose classified information without authorization."

Thus, the panel said, "to close the gaps in the present law, we recommend the introduction of legislation imposing a criminal penalty for all unauthorized disclosures of classified information by government employees and former employees."

The chairman of the panel, Richard K. Willard, deputy assistant attorney general for the civil division, said Wednesday that the administration has not decided whether to make a "major effort" to win congressional approval of the proposed statute.

In principle, he said, the administration strongly supports such a statute.

The panel was convened by Attorney General William French Smith at the request of William P. Clark, President Ronald Reagan's national security adviser, who wanted to know what the administration could do to stop the unauthorized disclosure of classified information.

The panel was composed of senior officials from the Central Intelligence Agency and the Department of Justice, State, Treasury, Defense and Energy.

ments of Justice, State, Treasury, Defense and Energy.

Officials at the Department of Justice disclosed classified information to journalists in trying to buttress arguments for or against particular policies. Mr. Willard's report said that unauthorized disclosures by high-ranking officials should be "investigated and penalized in the same manner as other leaks."

However, in an interview, Mr. Willard said the president could legally authorize disclosures of classified information. In general, he added that information might be declassified only by the official who authorized the original classification or by a "supervisory official" higher in the chain of command.

Thus, he said, the secretary of state could declassify information generated by the State Department but could not declassify information originally classified by the CIA unless the president gave him authority to do so.

Mark H. Lynch, a staff attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, said such laws would be difficult to enforce.

"It would be like Prohibition," he added. "Those proposals try to stop something that people do all the time."

Virtually all the panel's recommendations beyond those included in the proposed new statute were adopted in a directive issued by the president March 11. These included recommendations for greater use of polygraph, security agreements and "prepublication review" of manuscripts of some federal employees and former employees.

Justice Department officials said there had never been a successful prosecution of a government employee for the unauthorized disclosure of classified information.



President Ronald Reagan signed a bipartisan bill to finance the Social Security program. Watching the action were, from left, Representative Claude Pepper of Florida; the House minority leader, Robert H. Michel of Illinois; and Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. of Massachusetts.

Reagan Signs Social Security Bill

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan has signed into law a bipartisan plan designed to assure the solvency of the Social Security program for the next 75 years. The measure is "a monument to the spirit of compromise and commitment that unites us as a people," Mr. Reagan declared Wednesday.

To save the program of retirement benefits and disability payments, which now has 36 million beneficiaries, the bill provides \$165

billion in additional revenue by the end of the decade.

The bill includes a six-month delay in this year's cost-of-living increase in benefits, an increase in the Social Security payroll tax next year, and a gradual rise in the retirement age from 65 to 67 by the year 2027.

It also includes a requirement that new federal employees join Social Security and a requirement that the benefits of some higher-income retirees be subject to federal income taxes.

"The changes in this legislation," Mr. Reagan said, "will allow Social Security to age as gracefully as all of us hope to do ourselves, without becoming an overwhelming burden on generations still to come."

Bad Times Befall San Francisco's Gays

Homosexual Activists Find Solidarity Eroding, Problems Growing

By Jay Mathews
Washington Post Service

SAN FRANCISCO — Tim Wolford, psychologist and board member of a community college, looked out over an evening assembly in the nation's most visible and politically active homosexual community. Neither he nor his audience was very happy.

After a series of steady advances, they have fallen on bad times. A virulent, mysterious disease is killing homosexuals. The slayer of the city's first homosexual supervisor is about to be released after only five years in prison. The city's mayor has grown distant from the gay community. What has gone wrong?

"If we're wimpy about our issues, we're going to end up with wimpy politicians," Mr. Wolford told his audience at a debate last week on the proposed recall of Mayor Dianne Feinstein. He pleaded for the old solidarity

that forced urban officeholders throughout the United States to seek the votes of homosexuals.

The gay community is still growing in influence, perhaps more rapidly than any other political minority in the country.

Two Democratic presidential contenders, Senators Gary Hart of Colorado and Alan Cranston of California, are campaigning among the state's gay communities.

And Senator Cranston is co-sponsoring a homosexual rights bill and has said he supports more federal funding for research to find a cure for Acquired Immunity Deficiency Syndrome, or AIDS, a devastating disease to which homosexuals have been particularly prone.

The Democrats have created a Gay-Lesbian Caucus in the Democratic National Committee. Even the California Republican Party, a hotbed of conservative lifestyles, has begun to appeal for gay support and to promise new concern for gay political issues.

But unhappiness reigns in San Francisco, where the Harvey Milk Gay Democratic Club, which favors the recall of Mayor Feinstein, debated the Alice B. Toklas Memorial Democratic Club, which opposes it.

The recall election, which was forced by 24,000 signatures collected by a tiny, self-described Communist group known as the White Panthers, is next Tuesday.

Coincidentally, the group's signature drive provided an outlet for gay resentment of Mayor Feinstein, and gay community leaders belatedly joined the campaign.

Mayor Feinstein said she expects to spend \$400,000 and win the recall election.

Her opponents, not only homosexuals but also liberal Democrats displeased with her support for big downtown development, said they expect to spend \$4,000 and lose. But they would be heartened by an anti-Feinstein vote of 30 percent or more.

Adept at steering a middle course through the multicolored amusements of San Francisco politics, Mayor Feinstein has no announced, credible opponent for her projected campaign for a second four-year term in November.

Mr. Milk, the first avowed homosexual to serve as a San Francisco supervisor, was slain in a City Hall shooting along with Mayor George Moscone in 1978.

Their killer, Dan White, a former supervisor and former policeman, received a five-year sentence for manslaughter, triggering riots among the gay community. He is to be released from prison in January.

Mrs. Feinstein, as president of the Board of Supervisors, became acting mayor after Mr. Moscone's death. She promised city jobs for homosexuals and action against police harassment and won election as mayor in 1979 with heavy support from gay voters.

U.S. Joint Chiefs Back MX Plan

By Michael Getler
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The Joint Chiefs of Staff, who had differed openly among themselves in December on the "dense pack" basing proposal for the MX missile, on Thursday unanimously backed the latest plan to put 100 of the 10-warhead missiles in existing silos used for older Minuteman missiles.

The five top-ranking military leaders in the United States argued that while the silos remained vulnerable to Soviet missile attack it was important to be able to threaten to knock out Soviet missile sites. Soviet missiles threaten U.S. silos.

In adding their backing to the administration proposal before the Senate Armed Services Committee, General John W. Vessey Jr., chairman of the Joint Chiefs, and General Charles A. Gabriel, Air Force chief of staff, pointedly left open the idea that the United States might not "ride out" a first strike by the Soviet Union.

Senator J. James Exon, Democrat of Nebraska, told General Gabriel that such talk sounded like a policy of "launch on warning" in which the United States would fire its missiles upon warning of an at-

tack rather than chance losing them by waiting until Soviet warheads had actually landed.

General Gabriel said that this was "not necessarily" the case. But three times during the hearings, General Vessey and General Gabriel indirectly raised that possibility under questioning.

Senator Exon's initial question was provoked by General Gabriel's saying that Russians "don't have any assurance that we are going to sit and ride out an attack."

Questioned by Senator Carl Levin, Democrat of Michigan, General Gabriel said "if we choose to ride out an attack."

General Vessey answered a question by Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, about how many of the existing Minuteman missiles might survive a Soviet attack by saying, "If we rode out the attack, probably 30 percent would survive today," with lower levels in the future.

The United States has never adopted a policy of launch-on-warning because it raises the possibility that a nuclear exchange could be started by mistake.

But it has never been flatly ruled out since such uncertainty reduces Soviet confidence about what the

United States would do and reduces Soviet confidence in being able to launch a successful first strike.

The question of whether both sides may now be moving toward such a policy has been heightened because both the MX, especially in vulnerable existing silos, and big new Soviet missiles are much threatening yet having targets.

Concern over this issue has been raised by Senators Exon, Sam Nunn, Democrat of Georgia, and Roger W. Jepsen, Republican of Iowa, and others during the hearings.

Mr. Shultz said rejection of the plan drafted by the presidential commission would be a "major setback" for national security, and Mr. Weinberger argued that the need for the new missile was urgent, even if doubts remained about the way to deploy it.

Mr. Shultz said that the commission would be a "major setback" for national security, and Mr. Weinberger argued that the need for the new missile was urgent, even if doubts remained about the way to deploy it.

Russia Plays the UNESCO Game Better Than U.S., Professor Says

By E.J. Dionne Jr.
New York Times Service

PARIS — Chester E. Finn Jr. co-edited the work of UNESCO politics here for the first time this week. It is not, he says, an experience he would wish on a friend.

For Mr. Finn, a Vanderbilt University professor appointed to a special delegation by the Reagan administration, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization is a place where some of his original meanings and then disappear, mysteriously, leaving something completely different.

It is also a place where, he says, the United States is faring very badly indeed and where the Soviet Union plays the game far better. "As far as I can tell," Mr. Finn said after a negotiating session, the Soviets devote considerable effort to this process, a lot of time and energy. And we just sit here. We deal with these events as if they're shooting stars or comets. They deal with it as a solar system. Any feeling is that we should take it seriously, or we should get out of it."

Mr. Finn, 38, is typical of the private citizens called on by their government from time to time to participate in special events at UNESCO headquarters here.

Career diplomats at UNESCO have become numb by the bombast or develop a certain critical empathy for the organization. The newcomers often bring a fresh view and sometimes leads to outrage.

"There's a whole view of what constitutes 'the successful' approach," said Mr. Finn, talking successively over the last few weeks. "The successful conference is one that achieves a consensus."

"Some of the career guys, and one of our allies, will say, 'If you only yield on this phrase or that sentence, we can be part of the consensus.' The problem is that the consensus is often against our values. We keep yielding and give up mile after mile. We haven't gotten to

our heartland yet, but our perimeter keeps getting pushed back."

Mr. Finn said his criticism was not aimed at the Reagan administration or at the U.S. representative at UNESCO, Jean Gerard. Rather, he said, it reflected general frustration over the seeming unwillingness of the United States to make the effort needed to win. Too many U.S. and allied diplomats, he said, seemed resigned to losing to a Soviet-Third World bloc.

What is being fought over mostly is words, usually the texts of resolutions and directives to the UNESCO staff, and Mr. Finn acknowledged that a lot of this "UNESCO-ese" was of no consequence.

But he also argued that words can mean a great deal, that the way a resolution reads can give either the Americans or the Russians advantages in the war for world public opinion. More importantly, he said, a resolution that is badly worded from the U.S. point of view could turn over part of the substantial UNESCO bureaucracy to programs opposed to U.S. objectives.

The present conference, which is scheduled to close this week, was called to chart the future of a nine-year-old project on educating students around the world on the need for peace and international cooperation.

The meeting carries the title "Intergovernmental Conference on Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. With a View to Developing a Charter of Opinion Favorable to the Strengthening of Security and Disarmament."

"Now look at that title," Mr.

Finn said. "If you go back to the original document, you'll find that it stopped at 'human rights and fundamental freedoms.' That was a great victory for the American position; we want to keep attention on human rights. But over time the Soviets managed to add the 'alliance of opinion' phrase."

The United States is intent on preventing the Soviet Union from using the conference to set up a UNESCO project that will in effect be an adjunct to its drive to stop the installation of U.S. cruise and Pershing-2 missiles in Europe.

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From Pen Pal to Plaque

NEW YORK — Helene Hanff isn't in "Who's Who." She is neither a best seller nor that loopy and self-satisfied figure, a cult author. She refers to herself rather modestly as a freelance writer, but she is one of the few Americans to be the subject of a London plaque. It is at 84 Charing Cross Road, on the site of a former second-hand bookstore that, according to the plaque, Miss Hanff made world-renowned.

On Oct. 5, 1949, Miss Hanff, describing herself as a poor writer who liked old books, wrote from New York to Marks and Co., whose advertisement she had seen in the Saturday Review of Literature. The

MARY BLUME

letters between Miss Hanff, self-educated and unimpeachable, and the bookshop's slowly unbending Frank Doel continued until a letter of Jan. 8, 1969, announced Doel's sudden death. Their correspondence was published by Miss Hanff in 1970 under the title "84 Charing Cross Road."

The London stage version of the book ended a long run two weeks ago. The much-shorter Broadway run ended last month.

"In London a ticket cost \$11. Here it cost \$23," Miss Hanff said in her one-room East Side apartment. "It isn't worth \$23." She has a gravelly New York voice and the free-lance combination of fecklessness and sturdy practicality. She and her flat are tidy in shades of beige, the only touch of eccentricity being that her neighbor's doorbell rings in Miss Hanff's closet, but in both stage versions and in the television play that preceded them, the chief article of furniture was a gin bottle.

"I do understand that you can't show a broken-down, two-bit writer any other way. It's very funny and very cute," Miss Hanff says. She is not averse to the occasional martini and on her first trip to London tried to show the bartender in a genteel Bloomsbury hotel how to make one of decent strength.

"More gin?" he said, and I said, "Yes, and lower your voice."

Chronically broke, she made her first trip to England two years after Doel's death and found herself a celebrity. She has written other books since "84 Charing Cross Road," but never with equal success. "You don't know what you did right so you're never gonna do it again," she remarks cheerfully.

She broadcasts regularly on the BBC's "Woman's Hour," opening her talk with a cigarette-strained "Hi" and going on to tell what's up in her New York neighborhood. A recent talk was on New York's last freak bazaar. "Did you know that you can sled on everything plastic including a Bloomsbury shopping bag?" she asks.

"84 Charing Cross Road" begins in austere Britain: In no time Helene is sending the staff of the bookstore food packages and addressing Doel as Fran or even Frankie (it takes him three years to call her Helene). She dislikes precious first editions that you cannot spell and gin on but loves the beauty of well-made used books. She wouldn't dream of buying a book she hasn't already read and she orders Lancelotti, Leigh Hunt, Cardinal Newman and Isaac Walton, from whom she lifts the story of John Donne's elopement for a television play she is writing. "Nobody who watches television has the slightest idea who John Donne was," she writes Doel triumphantly, "but thanks to Hemingway everybody knows 'No Man Is an Island'; all I had to do was work that in and it was sold."

On occasion she gives Doel hell: for a detestable version of the Bible ("Kindly inform the Church of England that they have loused up the most beautiful prose ever written"), for an overedited Pepsy ("WHAT KIND OF PEPSY DIARY DO YOU CALL THIS? This is not pepsy diary, this is some busybody editor's miserable collection of EXCERPTS from pepsy diary may be not") or for an offensively translated Catullus ("I write you from under the bed where that catullus drove me"). Doel chastised the letters.

Spare in build and in style of living, Helene Hanff doesn't keep things. She only kept Doel's letters because her accountant told her they could replace invoices for tax purposes. When the accountant saw the "some involved" surely surpassed \$9.72 he lost interest and the letters were tucked away.

"Gregg said I'd say what am I keeping them for. The night I got the letter about Frank's death I couldn't remember if I had thrown them out or kept them. I found them in a little envelope, I was so relieved I sat on the floor and cried. I didn't know why. When I opened it every one's baby pictures fell out. I'd forgotten."

She put the letters together, moving some around and cutting one letter into three to improve their dramatic construction. She thought they might make "a darling New Yorker story." They were too long for a story and to her astonishment came out instead as a book that has been translated into Finnish, Dutch and Japanese. A Japanese is doing his Ph.D. thesis on her and has even dug out her old television scripts for "Ellery Queen" and "The Hallmark Hall of Fame."

"When the Reader's Digest took it, I knew it had nothing to do with people liking rare books," she says of the book's success. Her fans have been telephoning her for years. She wouldn't dream of having an unlisted number.

"I am not Jackie Susann, I'm not gonna get pornographic calls in the middle of the night. I wouldn't for anything in the world miss the phone calls I get."

A woman in Texas gave a telephone conversation with Miss Hanff to her husband for his birthday gift. A couple with a new baby called during a blizzard in British Columbia. "That 9-week-old baby is now 11," Miss Hanff says. "And I shouldn't say this but I have a London overseas operator who calls when there's a full, like at 3 A.M. London time."



Helene Hanff

In a book about her first visit to London, "The Duchess of Bloomsbury Street," Miss Hanff reflects after a glamorous dinner party on how published letters changed her life.

"A few years ago I couldn't write anything or sell anything. I'd passed the age where you know all the returns are in. I'd had my chance and done my best and failed. And how was I to know the miracle waiting to happen right round the corner in late middle age? '84 Charing Cross Road' was no best seller, you understand; it didn't make me rich or famous. It just got me hundreds of letters and phone calls from people I never knew existed; it got me wonderful reviews; it restored a self-confidence and self-esteem I'd lost somewhere along the way. God knows how many years ago. It brought me to England. It changed my life."

She was born in Philadelphia of a theater-mad family. Her father ran away from home to become a song-and-dance man but ended up selling shirts instead — "a Willy Loman figure," she says — and exchanging shirts with box-office managers for tickets to the shows that were on pre-Broadway tryouts. Helene, a prodigy, won a Theater Guild fellowship for playwriting at a very tender age, went to New York and wrote plays like mad — "I had them like rabbits" and never got one produced.

"They were pitifully charming. The dialogue was great and I couldn't write a plot. I couldn't write except what happens to me and nothing much happens to me, so I haven't written much. I haven't a creative imagination. I can't invent plots. I can't invent plots. It took me half a lifetime to realize it, if not two-thirds."

"I love the factual, I don't need fiction. My guilty secret all these years was that I hated reading plays. Except Shaw, and I preferred his prefaces."

There is a certain irony in hitting Broadway 40 years later with someone else's adaptation of your work. Miss Hanff took it calmly. "I thought this is not my rap. The worst they can say is the book doesn't make a play."

For English readers, she wrote a New York guidebook called "Apple of my Eye" ("It was supposed to be captions but I talk too much for that so it became a book"). It neglects hotels and restaurants — the publisher's budget only permitted Chock Full O' Nuts — and has a good New Yorker's attitude to the George Washington bridge: "The best thing about it is it gets you home from Jersey."

For American readers she has just completed a piece on London for The New York Times. "It took me 10 years to realize there's an East Side and a West Side in London," she says. The "East Side," which she pretends is northern London, particularly W.I. Anything south of Buckingham Palace is no man's land.

"I once ended in Belgravia. That had to be the deadliest neighborhood. All the parks were locked. I mean to tell you there wasn't even a robin. I couldn't find anyone to let me out."

She has been to London seven times in the last 10 years and wishes she could make an eighth trip. "I'm a free-lance writer, I can only go if there's a legitimate reason," she says. "But believe me there will be another reason before I die."

Eurovision Sings Out

by Alan Levy

MUNICH — "Dallies" be hanged! The television show watched by the world's largest audience at any one time — 500 million people — will originate here live this Saturday night: the 28th annual Eurovision Song Contest. In hundreds of thousands of homes in Europe and into the Middle East, families will argue — at they do every year — the merits of entries with a passion usually reserved for discussing politics or soccer.

West Germany won the expensive privilege (costing about \$1 million) of acting as host for this year's competition by winning last year's at Harrogate, England, in a landslide with the right song at the right time: "Ein bisschen Frieden" ("A Little Peace"), a Joan Baez-like anthem sung by a 17-year-old girl from Saarbrücken known simply as Nicole.

The universal appeal of Nicole's song was evident when she repeated its refrain in English, French and Dutch. (There was a time when many, if not most, of the songs were sung in English, but, since 1977, the members of Eurovision — the television arm of the European Broadcasting Union, based in Geneva — have insisted that each song be sung substantially in the language or one of the languages of the country of the active participant concerned.)

Finland's 1982 entry came closest to "A Little Peace" in its politics, but farthest in the standings. An angry protest song called "Neutron Bomb," it finished last without netting a single point, not even a tenth-place vote from any of the 18 international juries.

Finland is back this year with a piece of disco Abba called "Fantasia," sung by Ami Asperlund. Abba is a recurrent image, for the Swedish singers swept to fame by winning the 1974 Eurovision title with "Waterloo" in Brighton, England. This year more than ever, imitation Abba is a Scandinavian staple: Denmark's Gry Johansen is doing a disco Abba while Sweden's Carola Häggkvist is doing fluorescent Abba.

West Germany has a solid enough entry in "Rückblick" ("Consideration"), a bittersweet ballad of the Simon and Garfunkel genre sung by two brothers named Hoffmann & Hoffmann. The strongest songs this year are ballads, particularly the opening and closing numbers: France's "Vivre" ("To Live"), composed, played and sung by Guy Bonnet, and Luxembourg's "Si la Vie Est un Cadeau" ("If Life Is a Present"), a torch song by Corinne. If ballads will ride high this year, little in between has much chance.

Saturday night's telecast will begin at 9 P.M. (Central European Daylight Time) with a five-minute filmed traveling of German landmarks, but the rest of the two-and-a-half-hour show will be live, with a bilingual singer-dancer, Marlene Charell, as mistress of ceremonies.

In the 20 participating lands, the Eurovision final is not just a fast-paced musical event but the climax of an orchestrated build-up that begins not long after a winner is crowned. Songs submitted for the next contest are sifted by national juries of broadcasters, musicians, composers and directors; these juries sometimes do their own matching up of artists with songs — the artists aren't required to hold passports from the country they represent.

As an example of the selection process, take Austria, which has won only once (Udo Jürgens singing "Merci, Chérie" in 1966).

The Austrian Broadcasting System, known as the ORF, received 290 full scores between the Sept. 9, 1982 announcement and the Jan. 7, 1983 deadline. The week after the deadline, in a three-day marathon of auditions, the possibilities were narrowed down to 12. They were performed on the evening of March 17, two days before each nation's selection deadline, on a well-watched once-a-year program called "Out of 12 Comes 1."

Before the show, a public-opinion institute chose a 300-person cross-section of the Austrian populace and instructed them to watch. As

soon as the last song was sung, they were phoned and, in a matter of minutes (during which the ORF Big Band played a medley of past Austrian entries), a Viennese group called West End was ticketed to Munich with a song called "Hurricane." Other countries use other methods to choose their candidates.

A videotape version of each national winner had to be in London by March 28. Back in January, a lottery determined the order of presentation of the songs — strictly limited to three minutes in length — and now they were transmitted in this sequence by the BBC on April 6 for re-recording by the participating television services and showing last week.

In recent years, the videotaped previews have proved so slick and enticing — occasionally on the frontier of avant-garde cinematic technique — that they tend to distort the actual products, making them look better than they sound, but sometimes backfiring.

For example, Austria's "Hurricane" won the national competition because West End knew that optical effects were important to Eurovision, so the basic trio was augmented by an appealing pair of dancers. The preview presentation, however, was set in an office with desks, depriving the dancers of mobility, while the visuals concentrated on Op-Pop comic-book effects that can't be done live in Munich.

For the Eurovision contest, 32 television and 6 radio services in 29 countries will be receiving live transmissions.

Everything will change Saturday night when the songs are performed live, under pressure, in Rudi Sedlmayr Hall, an aluminum-roofed beehive built in 1969 as a volleyball, handball and basketball arena for the 1972 Olympic Games.

To make room for a specially designed stage affording cameras and performers flexibility and some advanced light effects, the hall's seating capacity dwindled from 5,000 to 3,000, of which 1,200 places were offered to the public on March 21 at prices of 25 to 30 marks (slightly more than \$10 to \$20). They sold out in two hours.

The remaining seats are reserved for the national delegations and guests among the thousands of artists, composers, lyricists, journalists and record-company representatives who have been converging on Munich all week — as well as for politicians, including Premier Franz Josef Strauss of Bavaria. At a reception Strauss gave for the assembled Eurovisionaries on Tuesday night, he confessed to a conservative's preference for operettas and brass bands. Asked later if he ever had been a fan of pop music, he replied, "I am now."

Exposure is the factor that rallies politicians and show people and it is what makes a winner out of virtually any Eurovision loser. In fact, the list of losers is much more distinguished than the list of winners. Participants who didn't win include Nana Mouskouri and Françoise Hardy in 1963, Matt Monro in 1964, Cliff Richard in 1968 and again in 1973, Julio Iglesias in 1970, Sergio Lama in 1971, Olivia Newton-John in 1974, The Shadows in 1975, The Les Humphries Singers in 1976, Silver Convention in 1977 and Jeanne Manson in 1979.

Nonetheless, winning the title has certain advantages. Nicole, last year's victor, is still in high school but commutes on weekends to engagements all over Europe. She has reaped at least a quarter of a million dollars from "A Little Peace." It was No. 1 for a while on the charts in England, Israel, West Germany and

several other countries and sold three and a half million singles worldwide, plus a million Nicole albums.

Immediately after the triumph in Harrogate, however, the song's composer, Ralph Siegel, 36, of Munich, was hospitalized for three weeks with a stress-induced ringing in his ears. He has recovered and remains a national hero, scheduled to receive a West German television homage in May.

For this year's Eurovision contest, 32 television and 6 radio services in 29 countries will be receiving live transmissions. For the first time in years, the list includes the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Romania, Poland and Czechoslovakia, all members of Eurovision's Prague-based rival, Intervision. For economic reasons, Ireland, the 1980 winner, is not competing in 1983, but will nonetheless telecast the contest. Also aboard for live satellite transmission are Iceland, Jordan and, for the first time, Australia.

The luck of the draw gave France the opening slot, which Michael Type of the Eurovision secretariat in Geneva says "is not a fortunate position, we've noted over the years. No artist likes to be first on a program when people are still warming up. But there have been exceptions." In 1982 France neither participated in nor telecasted the show — the event was deemed not up to French cultural standards.

Norway, Britain and Sweden will follow France and be followed by Riccardo Fogli of Italy, a crooner who impressed in the previews as a sure shot for Best Record Jacket if such a prize were given. Turkey's "Opera," sung by Cetin Alp and the Short Wave, is international movie music, but Spain's "Quién Maneja Mi Barca?" ("Who Sails My Boat?"), performed by Remedios Amaya, is strong and straight from Flamenco Beach.

Switzerland's entry is in Italian and offers Mariella Farré and enough sultry passion, hair-tearing and breast-beating to perhaps score a surprise. Finland is followed by Greek water music, much more ethnic than the Netherlands' "Sing Me a Song" and Yugoslavia's "Julie." If middle-aged music is anybody's meat, then the Cypriot chant has a chance. West Germany, Denmark and Israel then precede Portugal, Austria and Belgium. Luxembourg has the advantageous last slot from which Nicole won last year.

While viewers are watching a ballet medley of German melodies, 20 juries cloistered in studios in the competing countries will total up their ratings and award points to their 10 top selections — 12 to the first, 10 to the second, 8 to the third down to one for the tenth. They cannot vote for their own country. Each nation's 11 jurors were named only last weekend. The rules stipulate that "the numbers of men and women in each jury should be more or less equal; five or six of its members being over and five or six under 25 years of age. The minimum age should be 16 and the maximum 60, with not less than 10 years between the two age groups."

People from the music, entertainment and broadcasting fields are disqualified. "We seek very normal people," says Friederike Schramm, head of the ORF's Eurovision department and secretary of the Austrian jury. "Housewives, a schoolboy, a construction worker, a retired businessman, a travel agent..." A notary public sits in on each jury to certify procedures.

The suspenseful high point of the show comes when the 20 nations are polled over closed sound circuits, with each jury's spokesman announcing its totals in English or French, starting from the bottom up, while the cameras pick out contestants and spectators biting their nails. An electronic scoreboard with flashing lights shows up-to-the-minute totals and leaders.

Michael Type of Eurovision makes no grandiose claims for the song contest. "It's just a bit of froth," he says, "but a lot of work goes into making froth and there's no reason why the froth we dish out should be anything less than good froth."

The Rag Trade

by Carol Mann

LONDON — In King's Road in London on a typical Saturday afternoon, yesterday's punks and pirates have been replaced by a horde of ragamuffins in tattered clothes worn in layers, all patched up and held together by string. Baggy trousers, just short enough to flap about the ankles, accompany long strappy skirts, in grays and blacks, the wearers teetering in black lace-up boots, for added glory. Ashes and sackcloth, Babylon in mourning.

Faces have a calculated pallor, a Little Orphan Annie appeal, with a deliciously perverse *je ne sais quoi*. Hair remains flamboyant, scarlet for the girls, platinum blond or coal-mine black in greased-up crewcuts for the boys. Eyes are made up to look like jewels.

The scene is an artful parody of the current economic gloom, and the tone is one of operatic despair. The boutiques themselves set the scene. First of all, a number of them in fashion-conscious Chelsea and Covent Garden have been turned into thrift shops, where it is actually possible to purchase genuine rags, complete with original wear, tear, even stains and holes.

In other European second-hand shops, an effort is made to instill an impression of Old World elegance in the way the clothes are pre-

sented, and the prices are correspondingly higher. No such pretension here.

Then there are the designer boutiques, where extortionately priced garments are so ragged that only the unpracticed eye might mistake them for the most exquisite of charity shop finds.

The most spectacular shop is Vivienne Westwood's Nostalgia of Mud, set in the heart of the West End. Imagine a mixture of newly uncovered catacombs, Yoda's dank planet in "The Empire Strikes Back," the rickety gang-planks in "Minty on the Bounty" and the debris left over from an outdoor punk rock concert where it rained, and you begin to have an idea. Papier mâché mud pours over the facade and into the shop.

The clothes are thrown over sculptural mannequins, with collages of wreckage for heads. Half-erased tribal frescoes suggest an obscure imperial past. The shopper can buy pre-rusted badges here.

Vivienne Westwood has always had the most uncanny intuition about which aspects of the avant-garde can be turned into viable fashions — which is how she has successfully launched the punk and pirate looks. She has now ceased being just a local celebrity and has presented her collections in Paris. Her influence is enormous.



Photographs by Andrew Piller.

Those most affected are not the Parisians, but the Japanese, and the streets of Tokyo are filled with young people clad in the smartest gladrags. The difference here is that they are wearing industrially made clothes, with mass-produced tears and holes — whereas in London, Depression-conscious urchins are seeking

the ultimate in sartorial self-expression by creating a look that corresponds to their emotions.

It is hard to imagine just what will follow. But one thing is sure — elegance will have lost its moralistic implications. Tongue-in-cheek has entered the realm of respectable snobbery. ■

TRAVEL

New Territory for a 'Salesman'

by Diana Fong

BEIJING — Arthur Miller is determined to challenge the notion that he is a "Chinese" — that Western culture cannot be translated into Chinese. The 57-year-old playwright, who is in Beijing to direct the Chinese version of his play "Death of a Salesman," says he is unimpressed about the absence of door-to-door salesmen like his Willy Loman in the People's Republic.

"The cultural differences are not so important and certain lines inevitably get lost through translation," Miller says. "But it's what audiences read between the lines that makes the play universal and timeless. I don't want to sound like I'm bragging about 'Salesman,' but great plays are transcendent. The cultural differences are surface differences."

"The Chinese, for instance, are much more reverent towards the Willys in society than we are, but 'Salesman' addresses problems and issues that resound deeply in the technological system of the world."

"We make too much of our differences with other people; it would really be a better idea if we look at similarities we do share."

Ever since Lee J. Cobb's Willy Loman first strutted across the Broadway stage in 1949, the play about the American dream of success has roamed the globe, including Russia. "There they really bought it," Miller says. "The capitalist characters were turned into a joke."

At Beijing's People's Art Theater, however, Miller — looking every bit the casual director in a V-necked pullover and corduroy trousers — has a free hand over the Chinese production. "Otherwise I wouldn't be here," he says assuredly in his raspy voice.

He has been here before. His plays "All My Sons" and "The Crucible" were produced in China a few years ago. Miller and his wife, Inge Morath, the photographer, who have collaborated on a photo-text memoir, "Chinese Encounters," based on their 1978 trip, now plan to publish an account about "Death of a Salesman."

In the midst of rehearsals for the May 7 opening, Miller appears anxious, yet optimistic that his play will attract full houses for at least the first two months of its Beijing run, which is of indefinite length. He seems fervent in his belief that theater is governed by universal laws. "If Chinese audiences are unmoved by the production, then it is not their failure to comprehend a foreign culture, but an artistic failure, which I must bear responsibility for," he says.

"Most problems have been ironed out," he continues. Both the playwright and his leading actor, Ying Ruocheng, who also acts as Miller's interpreter for the all-Chinese cast, agree that Chinese acting is too stylized for realistic drama. "This is partly the legacy of socialist realism during the Cultural Revolution, though the tradition of opera acting is deliberately unrealistic," Ying explains.

"On the other hand, the Chinese try to be too realistic in interpreting Western plays," Miller interjects. "The setting and clothing happen to be 1940s America, but I told them to do away with the blond wigs. They should be themselves, not pretend to be American, otherwise it'll wind up being a second-rate production."



Arthur Miller and Ying Ruocheng.

The cast, selected by Ying, is "very good," Miller says later over lunch at the Beijing Hotel, eating Szechuan noodles and using his chopsticks well. "Thank God I didn't have to go through auditioning actors."

He is particularly painstaking about a crucial scene in "Salesman," where Willy Loman is fired by his practical-minded boss, Howard. "My concern is, 'Can I make the actor understand and project different sides of Howard's character, and portray him in a sympathetic light as well?'" Miller's desire to "create full-life characters rather than stereotypes on stage" is shared by Ying.

"Ying will be a most complicated, multifaceted Willy," Miller says proudly. Ying, who also played Kublai Khan in the television epic "Marco Polo," bristles at the cliché definition of his character as "American Everyman," "victim of the capitalist machine," "weak" or "self-deluded."

"Willy's a human being, he's lovable," Ying says fondly. "There are moments he is compassionate, moments he behaves badly — he mistreats his wife, for instance, yet there is real love between them."

"The complex interaction between father-son, and wife-husband-mistress, should strike a responsive chord among Chinese audiences, especially here where family ties are strong," Miller feels.

"There should be no difficulty in comprehending the role of the mistress, either," he adds. Although extramarital affairs are officially nonexistent in today's China, concubines were an appendage of the family unit in pre-revolutionary times. Still, attitudes toward sex have always been discreet.

"Sexual explicitness in the Western sense is a shock to them," Miller explains. "It's not very meaningful to talk about censorship in this context, since the Chinese public finds it offensive anyway."

"Look, in French Lick, Indiana, my play was banned from the bookshelves because Willy's son Happy says 'Jesus,' but the public in French Lick would have approved of the action as well."

Miller's views on free expression are fully evolved in his 1953 play, "The Crucible," which drew its inspiration from the Salem witchcraft trials in puritan New England. "The Crucible" was seen as an attack on the tactics of McCarthyism as well and, during its run in Shanghai, audiences sympathized with the play's message, drawing parallels to the political persecutions of the Cultural Revolution.

"China is now going through a postwar phase, just as the U.S. did in the 1950s," Miller says. "There's been a marked improvement in the standard of living since I was here in 1978, and I'm encouraged by how much more open it is now. The Chinese haven't evolved to the extent of the U.S. today, but you have to remember that America in the 1950s wasn't all that open and tolerant either."

"Even free enterprise on a small scale has made inroads into the Chinese economy, so the idea of salesmen is not all that alien."

But doesn't a political system that attempts to make equal all members of society conflict with the ingredients of American success, such as drive and ambition? Ying disagrees. "There are individuals, like Willy, who have aspirations," he says, "but the form of ambition is different here."

Walk, Don't Run, Into Shape

by Sharon Rutenberg

CHICAGO — Howard Jacobson stopped running 26 years ago. Now he walks. "I converted to walking and I never stopped," he says. "Competition is not where it's at. Health is where it's at."

The 52-year-old Jacobson has coached thousands of people — from senior citizens to Olympic athletes — on how to turn a walk into a workout through "healthwalking." A fast-paced walk using vigorous arm motions, healthwalking actually provides better overall body fitness than jogging and is easier and safer, Jacobson says.

It's for all ages, "from the 20s through the 70s and beyond," according to Jacobson. "By adding more efficient arm movements and picking up the pace, walking can become a more-effective overall body conditioner than running or jogging, without their injury risks," he says.

Jacobson insists that a rising number of injuries are attributed to running or jogging. A recent study by the National Center for Disease Control showed that more than a third of Americans who run more than 6 miles (10 kilometers) a week sustain running-related injuries, most commonly to their knees, Jacobson continues.

"In running, the foot touches down with an impact two to three times greater than that of walking," he says. "Also, in running the bent knee must bear the brunt of the impact, while a walker touches down with knees straightened. So the whole leg can absorb the impact."

Four 30-minute walks weekly at a brisk pace of about 15 minutes a mile can provide cardiovascular, muscular and calorie-burning benefits equivalent to those achieved by running or jogging, he says.

Jacobson adds that walking burns more calories because, in smaller strides, walkers take more steps per minute. Running involves

a pushing motion, but walking uses both pulling and pushing "which is much better overall."

Jacobson calls brisk walking the safest exercise for sedentary older individuals who decide to get back into shape.

"For both the underexercised and the active athlete, suffering injuries is a warning sign. Brisk walking can be the happier medium," he says. "I advocate the most natural exercise of all."

For maximum benefit, Jacobson suggests walking for at least 30 minutes at a time, moving briskly enough to cover 2 miles (3.2 kilometers) or more during that period.

Jacobson — author of the 1980 book "Walk to Fitness: The Sensible Alternative to Jogging and Running" (Simon and Schuster, \$11.95) — annually walks the New York City Marathon course faster than some contestants run it.

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INTERNATIONAL DATEBOOK

AUSTRIA

VIENNA, Konzerthaus (tel. 723.11.11): April 28: Vienna Symphony Orchestra, Francis Travis conductor. Hildegarde Behrens soprano (Wagner). April 28: Vienna Chamber Orchestra, Karl Sanderling conductor (Händel, Mercadante). April 29: Alfred Brendel piano (Beethoven). April 29: "Swan Lake" (Tchaikovsky). April 29: "The Crucible" (Rossini) Erich Bindig conductor. April 29: "Madame Butterfly" (Puccini) Giuseppe Patané conductor.

BELGIUM

BRUSSELS, Palais des Beaux-Arts (tel. 511.50.45): April 28: Bella Davidovich piano (Haydn, Brahms, Prokofiev, Chopin). April 28: "Expositions" (tel. 647.21.14). April 28: "Eur-Antica" International Antiques Fair. April 28: Théâtre Royal de la Monnaie (tel. 218.12.66). April 28: Roger Guerin Big Band. April 28: "Le Comte Ory" (Rossini) Jean Prinaud conductor. April 28: "The Crucible" (Rossini) Erich Bindig conductor. April 28: "Madame Butterfly" (Puccini) Giuseppe Patané conductor.

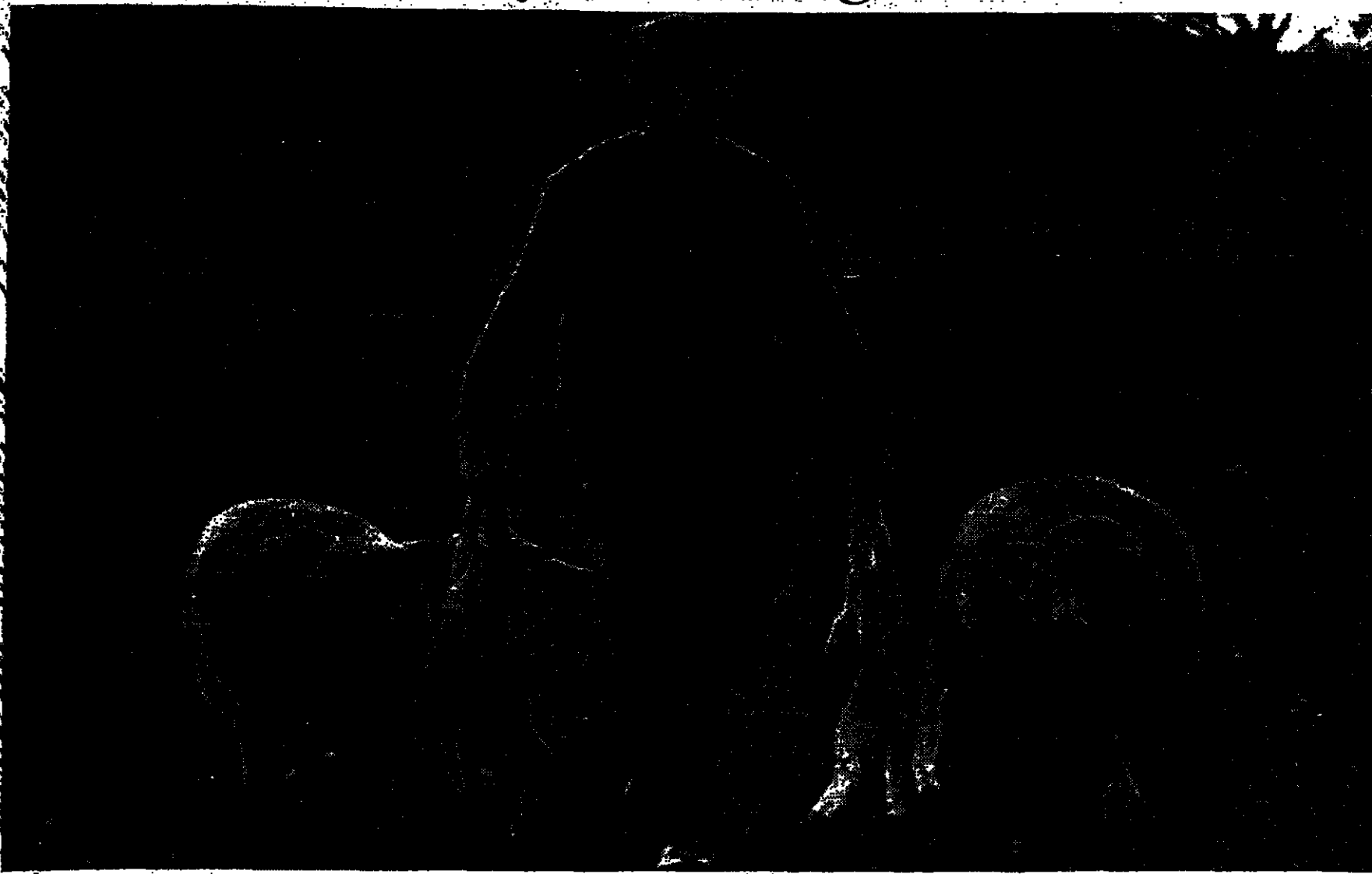
ENGLAND

LONDON, Barbican Centre (tel. 2538.99): April 28: "The Merchant of Venice" Royal Shakespeare Company. April 28: "The Crucible" (Rossini) Erich Bindig conductor. April 28: "Madame Butterfly" (Puccini) Giuseppe Patané conductor. April 28: "The Force of Destiny" (Verdi) John Maucan conductor. April 28: "Die Fledermaus" (J. Strauss) Herbert Prikopa conductor. April 28: "The Crucible" (Rossini) Erich Bindig conductor. April 28: "Madame Butterfly" (Puccini) Giuseppe Patané conductor. April 28: "The Force of Destiny" (Verdi) John Maucan conductor. April 28: "Die Fledermaus" (J. Strauss) Herbert Prikopa conductor. April 28: "The Crucible" (Rossini) Erich Bindig conductor. April 28: "Madame Butterfly" (Puccini) Giuseppe Patané conductor. April 28: "The Force of Destiny" (Verdi) John Maucan conductor. April 28: "Die Fledermaus" (J. Strauss) Herbert Prikopa conductor. April 28: "The Crucible" (Rossini) Erich Bindig conductor. April 28: "Madame Butterfly" (Puccini) Giuseppe Patané conductor. 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TRAVEL

Springtime, When Birds Do Sing, Hey Ding a Ding, Ding

The Calendar Says Lambing Season



Marcel Lajarige and part of his flock.

by Sarah Farmer

ROUSSAC, France — It's lambing season in the hilly, upland country of the Limousin, in west-central France, ewes and lambs can be seen in nearly every green field. Rural, sparsely populated and slow to change, the Limousin remains primarily a region of small farms and isolated villages where the pace of daily life is set by the agricultural calendar. At L'Essart, a sheep farm 30 kilometers (19 miles) north of Limoges, it's the busiest time of the year.

Lambs are born from February through April, a schedule planned by the farmer, who wants to get his lambs to the summer market early. He has his ewes mated so they will bear as soon as possible after the bitter weather, when the lambs come it must be warm enough for them to survive outdoors and for there to be grass for the ewes to eat and produce milk.

Good luck with the weather is crucial. Local farmers constantly look to the sky, judging the clouds and wind — for the weather can shift abruptly. In the morning lambs may leave the barns in bright sun, only to be brought back to shelter in a few hours, shivering under heavy rain or hail.

Marcel Lajarige, the shepherd at L'Essart, remembers a disastrous lambing season five years ago when the weather stayed unseason-

ably cold long into March. It rained for weeks. Lambs born outdoors drowned in the fields, where water came halfway up a man's legs. Pregnant ewes had to be kept in the barns during the day and, with no fresh grass, they could not produce much milk. Many lambs had to be taken from their mothers and fed, at great expense, by bottle with artificial milk.

Overcrowding in the barns caused a bacterial infection to spread, killing many lambs. For the people of L'Essart, this bad luck is a reminder that no matter how hard they work, success ultimately depends on the weather.

During lambing all attention is turned to surveillance of the flocks and to care of newborns. Sheep most commonly bear single or twin lambs, though triplets occur, particularly in well-nourished flocks. By day Lajarige makes an hourly round of the fields, looking for those ewes ready to lamb.

He knows his flock. Eyeing them each morning when he takes them to pasture, he keeps mental notes of any changes in the shape of a ewe's sides or udder indicating that she is close to term. Gazing at the flock across a field, he picks out details that escape a less-practiced eye. "See that one off by herself? Look how she sniffs the ground and appears worried. She'll have hers in the next two hours."

Coming back to check the ewe, Lajarige slowly approaches the flock to get a closer look. The ewe is down on the ground in labor

and gets up, startled, as he comes near. Seeing something amiss in the lamb's positioning, Lajarige walks stealthily towards the ewe, crouching a bit and staring her in the eye. Extending his right hand in a beckoning motion, he calls to her softly in patois, "Hey, chicha, chicha..." The ewe stays rooted to the spot, distracted too long enough for the shepherd to move swiftly and grab her foreleg. Putting her on her side he delivers two lambs.

Born and reared on a farm a few kilometers from L'Essart, Lajarige has always lived in this corner of the region, leaving only to complete his military service. To work with him during lambing season is to learn not only about sheepbreeding, but also about local wildlife and plants, history, customs and speech. He will explain a word or saying in patois, discuss farming techniques used in his father's day. Carrying the newborn lambs back from the fields to the barn, he notes a lawing flying overhead — a sure sign of spring.

The sheep are brought in before dark and at night a worker gets up to check the barns. Coming out of the wind and dark into a warm, quiet barn, one walks slowly, listening for the distinctive bleat of an ewe in labor, looking closely for those ewes who seem ill at ease — a signal that they are ready to have a lamb.

Stand in the shadows at the edge of the pen and witness a birth. The ewe separates herself from the others, choosing a warm spot. She

paws and sniffs the straw, lying down, getting up, turning around and lying down again. Often she raises and tosses her head. As she goes into labor, the ewe begins to push and strain. After about half an hour the white tip of front hooves begin to appear. As she keeps working, the nose and head of the lamb slowly emerge; with more effort come the shoulders, back and hindquarters. The ewe usually then gets up, dropping the lamb onto the straw.

For a moment the wet shape is still and then the lamb shakes its head and takes its first breath. The mother licks it off, greeting the thin cry of the lamb with a possessive bleat.

It is essential that the ewe adopt her newborn lamb while it is still wet and has a distinctive smell. Once the initial bond is made, she will always recognize and care for it.

Newborn lambs have an important need in the first few hours of life — they have to drink. The ewe's first milk is filled with antibodies that trigger the lamb's immunity system and with laxatives that stimulate its digestive tract. Instinctively, the lamb knows what to do.

It struggles to right itself. After repeatedly stumbling and toppling, finally perched on wobbly legs, the lamb begins searching for the udder. Nuzzling and pushing its way down the mother's body, it persists until it can latch on to a nipple and drink. With this triumph the lamb is on its way.

Off Majorca, the Calamars Are Running

by Anne Sinclair Mehdevi

PUERTO ALCUDIA, Majorca — Cephalopods are creatures with their feet growing out of their heads. This sounds like something to be viewed at a circus freak show. Not at all. Calamars or squid, as cephalopods are more commonly called, can be found fried, roasted, stuffed or served in virtually every restaurant in Majorca.

Although a large proportion of the calamars arrived here today come frozen from Japan or Asia, old habits are hard to break and this is Majorca's fishing time in Majorca, as it has been for centuries. In the bay of this village, the light waters are often dotted with lights from gas lanterns hanging over the gunwales of smaller calamars boats.

The coastal waters of this island have long been renowned for the shoals of calamars that appear for no discernible reason during cold weather. Although individual catches are negligible — up to 30 squid a night — the local fishermen shrink their daytime jobs as taxi drivers, waiters or messons to spend the cold night in pursuit of the calamars. And with the price rising from 950 to 1,250 pesetas (about \$7 to \$10) a kilo, the profit is not so negligible as it sounds. A haul of 25 will fetch up to 8,000 pesetas for the night's work. But the real motive is just that calamars fishing at this time is not only customary, but also fun.

When the boats dock at the fishermen's quay in Puerto Alcudia, clusters of housewives and street vendors are waiting. This, too, is a long-standing custom. Any one of the señoras could pop around the corner and buy her calamars frozen, but in a fishing town freshness is everything — even though calamars are

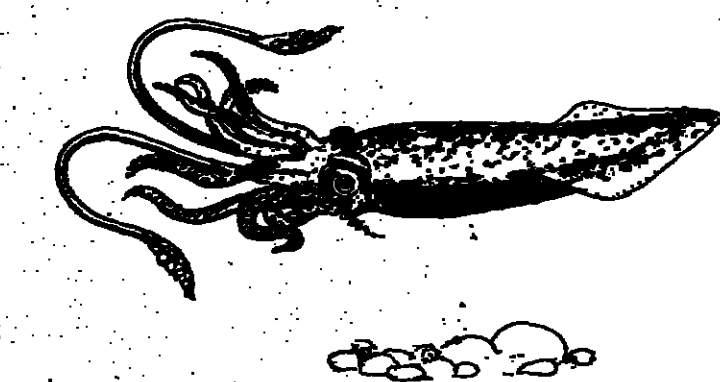
said to lose neither texture nor flavor through freezing.

The boats do not necessarily return at the same hour, but a patient visitor can observe a sort of show at the docks. Men with the best catches are grinning; they hoist out their palm-leaf baskets, exaggerating the weight. The laggards are usually those whose luck has been bad.

When the catches are small, haggling goes on for some time. On other days there are too many calamars for dockside disposal; then pickup trucks take them to inland towns. If there are still squids unsold, an impromptu auction is held. And in order not to let anything go to waste the fishermen themselves will often produce calderos and charcoal braziers to cook the leftovers on the quay for their own lunch of *arroz mariner*.

None of this is really necessary financially, but it is part of the tradition. Majorcan fishermen are stuck like limpets to their customs and superstitions. For instance, the street fishmongers sell their wares today from motorized vans, often equipped with loudspeakers, but they still announce their arrival in a neighborhood by blowing a triton shell. There are all kinds of natural portents that govern their outings — halos around the moon (bad); the behavior of seagulls, the level of the bay water (good if low) or the direction of the wind.

On June 29, St. Peter's Day, there is a joyful procession through Puerto Alcudia, with the fishermen marching in yellow stickers and a "fish queen" dolled up with a gilt crown. The statue of St. Peter, patron of fishermen, is carried on a float from the church and then towed by large to the center of the harbor, where the waters are blessed for the coming year. After



The calammar.

Illustrations by F. Mehdevi.

sunset almost all the boats in port, lights ablaze and rigging decorated with bunting, line up and circle the bay. This is a pageant worth seeing, as a finale hundreds of lighted candles stuck into flat corks are launched from the dock.

This year in January word went around that the first shoals of calamars had appeared. Then came consternation, for a few days later they disappeared. The reason came to light immediately: dozens of dolphins had invaded the bay and were gobbling them up.

"In fact," one fisherman said, "it's a wonder there are any left anywhere, for they are the favorite tidbit of every fish in the sea." They have no protective apparatus, no sharp fins, no teeth, no speed, no bones, just a harmless little cloud of ink that they squirt under the illusion that it hides their presence — whereas it really reveals their location.

The dolphins, having done away with the first shoals, went on to better feeding grounds. New and bigger calamars shoals appeared, and both amateur and professional boats flocked out again. A working agreement has been reached between the amateurs and the licensed fishermen. The amateurs are permitted by law to fish only from dawn to dusk and cannot use butane lanterns. Otherwise, they fish in exactly the same way — without bait, using a leaden lure shaped like a small fish with a collar of hooks. Even professionals catch the calamars one by one, yank each into the boat and sink the lure for the next.

The reason for the spotlight, whose 2,000-3,000-candlepower beam shines deep into the water, is that it attracts hundreds of tiny fish, whitebait, which are the food of the calamars. Fishing is always done near the shore and in quiet waters. The theory is that the calamars, which hover near the bottom, see the whitebait and surface as fast as their primitive jet propulsion allows. The fishermen, peering into the lighted water, spies the silvery form and jerks his hooked lure into it. As calamars are soft all

over, it makes no difference whether a hook catches head, body or rear end.

Calamars season opens out with the advance of spring. Then the fishermen turn to another ancient custom, fishing for another edible cephalopod, the sepias, also known as cuttlefish. Sepias are larger, more robust and tougher than calamars and are usually not served to restaurants, as they require a bit of chewing. But Majorcan housewives consider them a delicacy, especially when served in a sauce made of their own ink. As the people here are hospitable as well as chauvinistic, any tourist — if he or she isn't turned off by black-colored food — can usually receive an invitation to join a family sepias meal. Hotel clerks are helpful arrangers.

Sepias are caught in an entirely different fashion. Professionals use drift nets, not at the shoreline, but suspended from the surface in the middle of the bay. The sepias, which come into the protected harbor to mate in spring, become entangled in special fine-meshed pockets of the drift nets.

The amateurs — or sports fishermen, as they call themselves — use a method that is not really very sporting. This is done only during full moon or at sunrise, for the method depends on the highly developed sight of the sepias, and there must be enough natural light for the system to work.

A lively female sepias is attached by a hook to a cord and trailed behind a slow-moving small boat. Although to most people a female sepias is indistinguishable from a male, this is not so to the male sepias. The female's wings or lateral fins are marked in dark brown and white horizontally; the male's markings are vertical. When the male approaches the captive female, he is dipped up with an expert twitch of a hand net. It seems rather unsporting to employ nature's tenderer instincts to seduce a creature to its doom.

As for the female, after three days and dozens of luckless suitors, she has lost her liveliness and is also consigned to the skillet.

Through Britain

Aboard a Canal Boat: It's a Lock on Nature

by Fred Farris

NORBURY JUNCTION, on the Shropshire Union Canal, England — Another of those long, languid, late spring evenings. The blackbird's fluting, the wood pigeon's bustling call, the cock pheasant's "caart-caak" mix with the counter-tenor bleats of lambs wafting up from the meadows below the high embankment where our canal cruiser is moored. To the west in the slowly fading light of this quiet day's end, the misty Welsh hills backdrop the Long Mynd and The Wrekin, belovéd and storied high ground to A.E. Housman's Shropshire lads and lasses.

We cruised only six miles on the "Shroppe" this day and, finding this beautiful spot, we decided to tie up our six-berth steel hire boat, Whooper Swan, and enjoy the rest of the day. M.L. — my wife — and I never could see that hurry-hurry approach of going two dozen miles and working a dozen locks in a day to prove something. Not when we can sit out on deck, sip wine and watch May turn into June, waving to the "crew" of another canal boat sauntering by a few feet away.

Or read a book — some books, because we read them there, we associate with particular places on Britain's 2,000 miles of still-navigable canals that stretch from London to North Wales and Chester, Stratford-upon-Avon to Manchester, Birmingham and Oxford to York, and crisscross the countryside in between.

The canals were, of course, precursors of the railways in the early days of Britain's Industrial Revolution. They were dug with pick and shovel by thousands of "navvies" (a corruption of "navigators") working for newly formed companies to transport coal and grain, teapots and lumber from the mines and factories to seaports and to London. And the horse-drawn narrowboats plying the expanding waterways were crewed by independent bargefolk who raised their families aboard and spent their entire lives on the "cut," as they called the canal.

In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the railway — which could carry more goods faster, if not cheaper — gradually put the commercial canals out of business. They languished until after World War II, when a few restoration enthusiasts saw their potential for recreational use and started a movement that has made canal boating a major tourist industry.

Britain's canals are not well known abroad as a tourist amenity — though we have met Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Scandinavians and, occasionally, Americans, while cruising — but they are popular with Britons who can drive the family from home to one of many rental firms' boat yards, park and take over a cruiser for a week or two.

On the Continent, canals are still mostly used by big commercial barges that edge a pleasure boat out of the way as they try to make time with their cargoes. Nevertheless, there are a few boat rental companies in France, some taking groups of passengers in luxurious hotel boats touring the wine country and serving gourmet meals aboard.

But our own experience has been largely in the British canals where, under the care of the British Waterways Board and the private advocacy group, the Inland Waterways Association, the canals are used almost entirely for pleasure.

This is particularly true of the "narrow" canals — those whose locks are only seven feet wide, accommodating only narrowboats. Virtually all pleasure cruisers on Britain's canals are no more than 6 feet 10 inches wide, so they can fit into the 200-year-old narrow locks. And it's surprising how much can be packed into a 45- or 50-foot canal cruiser: foam-mattress berths for six, a shower and washbasins with hot and cold water, one or two flush toilets (the waste is not flushed into the canal), a fully equipped galley with gas refrigerator and four-burner gas stove, storage cabinets and a saloon for eating or watching television, a deck forward and one aft. Some boat saloons have sun-roofs that can be rolled back in fine weather.

In our years of cruising over many hundreds of miles, we've found the best seasons for canal boating are spring and fall. The waterways can be rather crowded in high summer — especially at locks — and the rates are at a peak. Rental charges for a fully equipped (sleeping bags, blankets, pillows, dishes and kitchenware) self-drive boat range from about £160 (about \$240) a week in spring and fall for a four-berth cruiser to £350 for a six-to-eight-berth boat in the high season.

Springtime, when the new lambs and calves frisk in the fields alongside the out and birdsong is at its best, finds the boats spanking in their fresh paint, canal-side gardens rich with fragrant flowers, and boaters full of new enthusiasm. Autumn brings blackberries growing alongside the cut, ripe for eating, the smell of wood smoke, and a welcome fire in canal-side pines. (Of course, it rains occasionally — M.L.)

Most of the boats like ours have gas central heating, and many cabins are insulated, so cold weather is not a problem for the autumn sailor.

Of the two seasons, I think we prefer the spring when the skylarks soar high above and their continuous song causes us to crane our necks for a glimpse, when the wild ducks swim nervously by with a ragged little retinue of ducklings, and when the mating pairs of swans cheekily rattle their bills on our steel hull, demanding a tribute of bread — or else. Or else they continue their rattling until we respond. Never mind that we are reading with our feet propped up or brewing a pot of tea in the galley, one of us must get up and feed the swans.

Once under way, M.L. steers the boat by tiller from the after deck and my role is to leap off the boat when we approach a lock, crank (called a windlass) in hand, and run ahead to "set" the lock and open the gate so she can slip the lock neatly in. She keeps the boat about midway in the 70-foot-long lock while I close the heavy gates behind, run up to the forward gates, crank up the paddles that let the water flow to reach the level of the next "pound" — the canal stretch between locks — to raise or lower the boat to the new level, and push open the gates to slide gently out. The gates weigh several tons but are counterbalanced, so they are manageable.

Happy are the times when another boat coming toward us leaves the gates open so we can enter the lock promptly and dodge some of the work. This is especially welcome in a "tight" of several locks, like the one at Abertawe, Warrickshire, an ancient town with a Roman road running through the center and 11 locks in quick succession.

In fact, in these more leisurely early and late seasons, there is an understanding and a courtesy observed among boaters: If they see you coming, they leave the gates open or "set" the lock in your favor as they go out ahead of you. And you are expected to do the same. After all, you may meet them in a waterside pub that evening.

Our favorite canals are the Oxford, the Trent and Mersey, the "Staffs and Worcs." (for Staffordshire and Worcestershire) and the Shropshire Union. The Llangollen (pronounced *llan-gollen*) canal going into North Wales is spectacularly beautiful, with its two great aqueducts carrying the canal high above the Ceiriog and the Dee rivers. A breach in the canal side that caused draining of one section and closed this cut has been repaired and the Llangollen, after being closed this week until April 30, will then reopen permanently.

And our two favorite starting points are Fradley Junction, at the center of the canal network near Burton-on-Trent, where Swan Line Cruisers Ltd., one of the pioneering rental firms, built and now keeps our boat (the bug bit us hard so we now own one), and Norbury Junction, Staffordshire, where Shropshire Union Cruisers Ltd. bases its trim fleet.

There are many other good canal hire-firms, such as Anglo-Welsh, which has several bases scattered along the waterways, Gordon's Pleasure Craft near Naptun Junction on the Oxford, and Countrywide Cruisers Ltd., at Brewood, Staffordshire. And some booking agencies — such as Houssons, based at Lowestoft, Suffolk, and Blakes, at Wroxham, Norfolk — have attractive free catalogs of boat-hire firms with descriptions and rates for all boats listed.

Clothing depends on the time of year, but it should be casual with a sweater a must for the cool and sometimes damp evenings. A waterproof jacket and perhaps waterproof pants are a good idea for wet weather when you must cruise to get your boat back in time. For occasional dining out, and there are a few good restaurants along the way, you may want to bring a dress-up outfit along. And onboard shoes should have rope- or rubber-tread soles for safe footing.

Most boat-hire firms will have your boat provisioned in advance if you send a list of food and drink wanted, but shopping along the cut is no problem. The canals touch many small towns as well as villages and occasionally large cities, and the local shops — including the often-welcome fish-and-chip shops — have always supplied our needs adequately.

Children love canal holidays, even though they must wear buoyancy jackets when on deck. It's a great opportunity to show them the countryside from a new, interesting and unobstructed viewpoint. And the visual and sound record of your trip, made with a camera and a small cassette tape recorder, can interest them for years.

The maximum speed allowed is 4 miles an hour but it's usually better to make it 3 mph; for one thing, going faster throws up a wash that eats away at the earth sides of the canals, silting them faster than the BWS dredgers can handle, and it also wastes fuel. Most boats, however, are diesel-powered and very economical on fuel.

As for where to moor, just about anywhere on the tow-path side is all right except at bends in the canal when you might obstruct vision. There are official mooring places dotted along the cut, usually at road bridges or towns — or at inns — but for us the remoter the mooring, the better. Somewhere where we can see a church tower peering over a green hill, where sheep graze and cows come down to the cut for a drink. (One morning we awoke to find four cows staring into our cabin windows. Fair enough, we were at them, too.)

But it need not all be bucolic. Some visitors attend the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre in Stratford from their canal boat moored on the Avon or on the Stratford canal. And moored on the A51by canal, we spent a delightful afternoon at adjacent Bosworth Field, where Richard III lost his crown and his life in 1485 and where a good museum brought it almost to life with a sound and visual show. And a trip through the Potteries district around Stoke-on-Trent is a journey back to a long-gone industrial world — many of the old factory buildings are still standing alongside the cut. You will find some good bargains in bone china, too.

Driving (the correct word is "steering") a canal boat is easy enough, but boat yards give you a quick demonstration course as well as a run-through on how to operate canal locks when you take out a hire boat. There are good canal route guides available at the rental firm, so you may plot your trip in advance. And, with your photos and tapes and logbook and guides, you may relive it many times afterward.

There are dozens of canal hire-boat firms, some of which build their own boats. You should write well in advance of your intended holiday. Here is a representative list: Booking firms — Houssons Holidays, Lowestoft, Suffolk, NR32 3LT; Blakes Holidays, Wroxham, Norfolk NR12 8DH; Boat Enquiries Ltd., 43 Bailey Road, Oxford OX2 0PT; Central Booking Agency, 50C Main Street, Thornton, Leicester LE16 1AG.

Rental firms — Anglo-Welsh Narrow Boats, The Canal Basin, Market Harborough, Leicestershire; Biggs Line, Penkridge Wharf, Penkridge, Staffordshire; British Waterways Board, Enquiry Office, Melbury House, Melbury Terrace, London NW1 6JX; Canalarm Marine, The Boatyard, High Street, Weedon, Northamptonshire; Countrywide Cruisers Ltd., Canal Wharf, Brewood, Staffordshire, ST19 9BG; Gordon's Pleasure Cruisers, Naptun Marina, Stockton, Rugby, Warwickshire; Rose Narrowboats Ltd., Stretton-under-Fosse, Nr. Brinklow, Rugby, Warwickshire; Shropshire Union Cruisers Ltd., Norbury Junction, Stafford; Swan Line Cruisers Ltd., Fradley Junction, Abertawe, Burton-on-Trent, DE13 7DN; Willow Wren Hire Cruisers Ltd., Rugby Wharf, Forum Drive, Rugby, Warwickshire.



The sepias.

